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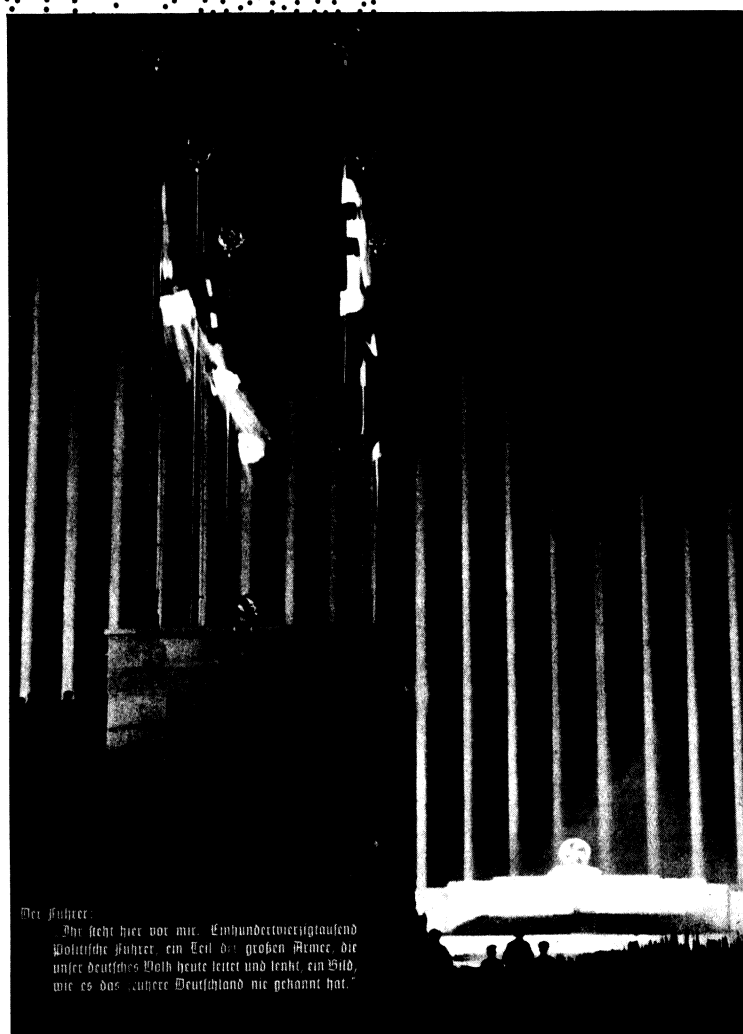


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**NATIONAL SOCIALISM
AND THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH**

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Der Führer.

Ihr steht hier vor mir, Einhundertvierzigtausend
Volkstische Führer, ein Teil der großen Armee, die
unser deutsches Volk heute leitet und lenkt, ein Volk,
wie es das „jüdische Deutschland“ nie gekannt hat.

SCENE AT THE NUREMBERG PARTY MEETINGS
(Herr Hitler's rostrum in foreground)

From *Schulungsbrief*, October 1937

NATIONAL SOCIALISM
AND THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH

*Being an
Account of the Conflict between the
National Socialist Government of Germany
and the Roman Catholic Church
1933-1938*

By
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Oxford*

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*A quibus est invitatus adhuc divisus amatis
Fratribus in Domino dedicat auctor opus.*

PREFACE

MY purpose is to tell the story of the conflict between the National Socialist Government and the Roman Catholic Church from the Revolution or 'Seizure of Power' in 1933 to January 1st, 1939.

I have not found it necessary to retell the history of the rise of National Socialism to power nor of the Centre Party in German political life up to the Revolution. But I have found it very necessary to prefix to my sketch some account of the ideas set forth in Herr Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, and Herr Rosenberg's book, *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*; for the struggle between Church and State has been ultimately a conflict of ideas, not of expediencies and practical politics. I have also added brief discussions of various issues which could not be treated satisfactorily in a chronological survey.

The task of one who would compose a picture of the immediate past might seem relatively easy. He may expect to have at his disposal not merely the newspaper files but also a considerable body of literature. Peculiar difficulties, however, beset the path of one who would write about National Socialism, for the Nazi leaders are at once astonishingly frank and bafflingly reserved. *Mein Kampf* lays down with the utmost clarity the policy from which Herr Hitler has deviated sometimes in word but never in action. On the other hand, when within Germany the policy of *Mein Kampf* has been put into rigorous execution, the Nazi leaders have not infrequently prevented the Press from recording their achievements. The *Volksgemeinschaft*, or 'fellowship of the people', understood as the solid unity of a people unanimous in philosophy and wholly obedient to the Leader vouchsafed to them by Providence, is in their judgement not merely an ideal, it is also either an assured fact or a fiction which at all costs must be maintained. Hence the bogus elections, hence, too, the suppression of all news that would indicate disharmony in the body politic, hence the treatment of those who talk freely with foreigners as being guilty literally of 'treason'.

The facts of the Church conflict have for the most part been rigorously excluded from the German Press. The *émigré* Press I have used with caution, and never when I could avoid it. It would be improper and dangerous for me to reveal the names of those in Germany who have given me their confidence. Even the correspondents of the foreign Press work under great difficulties in Germany. 'The German authorities', says a writer in the *Contemporary Review* for December 1938, 'would gladly impose censorship on the foreign correspondents as well as on their own Press; but for obvious reasons they content themselves with watching and spying on them. Records are taken of their 'phone calls, and their German acquaintances are supervised. At the restaurants or bars, where the foreign Press usually meet, either the waiters or other individuals have to spy on them and report their conversations. Special built-in microphones to record conversations are a possibility which must always be reckoned with. Most Germans are afraid to meet foreign correspondents socially, and those who furnish information to them usually communicate under assumed names and meet them at odd times and in circumstances which make supervision unlikely.'

It is impossible, as it would be tedious, to tell the whole story of the Church conflict in full detail. All the facts may, perhaps, be known in Rome, and the Pope will publish his 'White Paper' when he deems it to be expedient. I offer no complete record, but an outline, sufficiently illustrated, which, as I believe, gives a not misleading picture of the conflict. In every case, where this has been possible, I have given my authority.

No Christian can be wholly impartial in this matter; but, if I seem precluded by birth from full appreciation of a philosophy which is for Germans only, I am not a Christian of the Roman obedience. I am conscious of no desire, as I see no need, to misrepresent the tenets of National Socialism. I have quoted almost exclusively from the responsible leaders of the movement and have deliberately omitted much illuminating material on the ground that it was not official.

If I might venture any criticism of the Nazi philosophers,

it would be that they do not believe sufficiently in their own creed. A Scandinavian correspondent writing in the *Spectator* of December 9th, 1938, of the pressure of the German Government upon the Press in foreign countries, says that 'what the Germans want is nothing less than the discontinuance of all criticisms of the Nazi régime: it must not be said that Germany is a militarist and warlike nation; that Jews are brutally maltreated; that Hitler has repeatedly broken his word; and that the corruption in high Nazi circles stinks to heaven. Instead the Press is invited to reprint Herr Hitler's "peace" speeches (a bowdlerized translation is thoughtfully provided free of charge); and, if possible, to remind readers of the justice of German colonial claims and of the wickedness of British and French imperialism. . . . The Germans now insist that news shall be doctored so as to make out that the Nazis are not such bad fellows after all.' Herein, as it seems to me, Dr. Goebbels does the Nazi Party an ill service. In *Mein Kampf* Herr Hitler has told us frankly what he conceives to be the principles and the requirements of German 'Honour'. I cannot think it well that Dr. Goebbels should seek to persuade other countries, and even at times his fellow countrymen, that the Nazis 'are not such bad fellows' according to the standards of an 'honour' which *ex hypothesi* is very different from the German. I offer, then, no criticism of National Socialism upon the principles laid down in *Mein Kampf* and the *Mythus*. It is the foreign propaganda and suppression of news by the Nazis which makes me suspect that in their assumption that Germans have their own German God, or their own German conception of God, and their own special national ethics, their consciences are not very easy. I frankly confess to bias in my presupposition that there is One God and one universal moral law which with varying distinctness all human beings, so far as they are rational, can apprehend. But I hope that this prejudice has not betrayed me into any distortion of the views of those from whom I differ.

The Church struggle has been a conflict of ideas. Its universal interest lies largely in the philosophical and theological problems which it raises. I hope I have indicated

what these problems are, but in the main I offer materials for their discussion, not the discussion itself.

In view of the illimitable iterations of the German propaganda department I need hardly apologize for some repetition in my narrative. The whole issue is set by implication in *Mein Kampf*. The events of the past six years show a logical development, but there has been no parallel development of the ideas; yet in the record of each year I have felt it incumbent upon me to offer irrefutable proof that the issue had not changed.

The Christians in Germany are in the main divided into the two great communions, the 'Catholic' Church and the 'Evangelical' Church.¹ I have kept these names. They must, however, be understood in their technical sense. I must not be thought to imply that the Roman Church is not evangelical, or that the Protestant Church, so loyal to the catholic creed, has no claim to the name of catholic. Where the adjectives are used without prejudice in their technical sense they are spelt with capitals.

This book appears to me a compilation rather than a composition. I could not by myself have collected all the newspaper references which I have been able to cite as my authorities. My many collaborators must remain unnamed.

¹ I have sometimes had occasion to refer to the so-called 'Confessional Church'. The name is used in two different senses. In the wider sense it applies to the Evangelical Church as a whole in so far as it stands by the famous Synod of Barmen held in 1934. Substantially only the 'German Christians' and their sympathizers are here unrepresented. In the narrower sense it refers to the loyal Protestant Christian community in the larger part of Germany, where the organization of the old Church has been disrupted by the Government, together with personal and individual members from the rest of Germany. The 'Confessional Church' is here distinguished from the 'intact' Regional Churches where, as under Bishop Marahrens in Hanover, the framework and constitution of the Church has been to a large extent preserved, and where 'German Christians' have not been set in local control of the Church machinery by the Nazi Government. It is in this narrower sense that the term 'Confessional Church' is used in this book. It must be understood, however, that even the 'intact' Regional Churches are only relatively free from Nazi interference. The Government has assumed complete control of all Protestant Church finances. '*Die Finanzabteilung vertritt die Kirche*' is the legal phraseology. But whereas the 'Confessional Church' in Prussia has had to organize a separate, make-shift machinery (*vorläufige Kirchenleitung*), the 'intact' Churches maintain their pre-Revolution structure and organization.

I can never forget that many friends have risked their lives in trusting me with their confidence. I am absolutely certain that no information contained in this book can be traced to any one of my informants.

But, if I cannot thank my foreign friends by name, I may freely express my gratitude to Chatham House, and to Miss Muriel Grindrod in particular, for unstinted help and kindness in the preparation of my book for the press. I am grateful, too, to my friend Mr. W. A. Whitehouse for much help in the planning of the Index.

NATHANIEL MICKLEM

THE PRINCIPAL'S LODGINGS,
MANSFIELD COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Good Friday, 1939.

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FOREWORD

DR. MICKLEM'S book is the first to be published in a series of studies on the relations between Church and State initiated by the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Believing that this is now one of the most important and most urgent subjects for study in the international field, the Council felt a need to promote research into it; and on the point of its importance, at any rate, the Council's view manifestly coincides with the views of both the parties to the present conflict between 'higher religions' and 'totalitarian States'. The subject is, however, extremely controversial; it admits of fundamental differences of principle, and affects the emotions as well as the intellect—the heart as well as the head. These deep cleavages of sentiment and belief, in combination with the agreed importance of the issue at stake, make the subject peculiarly difficult to handle scientifically.

If the Council had thought it necessary, at all costs, to maintain an even balance between the two contending principles, they might have placed the work in the hands of some competent observer who had an equally complete disbelief in Christianity and National Socialism; but such an observer—supposing that he could have been found—might well have felt that the questions at issue were of no account and that the subject was therefore of no great importance after all; and such a book, written in such a spirit, might have approximated to a formal impartiality only at the cost of rejecting that very belief in the importance of the subject that has moved the Council to initiate the study.

The Council has preferred to place the work in the hands of a scholar who not only comprehends and knows how to expound judicially the facts and arguments on both sides of the case, but who believes, as the Council believes, that the issues raised in the conflict between the Catholic Church and the National Socialist State in Germany are of fundamental importance for the destinies of Mankind. It is evident that a scholar who combines these qualifications cannot be

personally indifferent as between the opposing parties and principles whose collision with one another is his subject. Dr. Micklem is a distinguished and experienced English student of the history of the relations between Church and State and is able to present the struggle in Germany in its historical setting. He is not a Roman Catholic; but he is a Christian who sees his subject from a Christian point of view and makes no concealment of the fact. At the same time he has presented the National Socialist point of view as this is set forth in statements by the recognized National Socialist authorities. This will not necessarily make the book acceptable to National Socialists. On the other hand, the Council believes that most readers of Dr. Micklem's book will agree with them in feeling that they have been fortunate in being able to place in Dr. Micklem's hands the investigation of which the results are now published.

ASTOR

*Chairman of the Council of
the Royal Institute of
International Affairs.*

*Chatham House,
St. James's Square,
London, S.W.1.*

February 22nd, 1939

I

THE OUTLOOK AND POLICY OF HERR HITLER

IT is not infrequently suggested that the Church conflict in Germany is due to the intransigence of certain ecclesiastically minded Christians or to a clash between the neopaganism of some in the National Socialist Party and the Christian Church, and that Herr Hitler himself stands above the conflict. It is true that Herr Hitler would be intensely glad to be quit of the Church problem, in which he is not interested; that only rarely and with difficulty can the Church get access to him; and that, as Herr Julius Streicher has admitted,¹ those about him have judged it right not to bring to his attention petitions deemed by them injurious to National Socialist Germany.

Moreover, Herr Hitler has not infrequently expressed himself in appreciative and genial terms as the protector and friend of the Christian Churches. 'Protestant minister and Catholic priest alike did immeasurable service in maintaining for so long our power of resistance'² (in the Great War). 'The task of the (National Socialist) Movement is not that of a religious Reformation, but that of a political reorganization of our People. It sees in the two religious denominations equally valuable supports for the stability of our People.'³ 'The national Government', he said shortly after his seizure of power,⁴ 'sees in the two Christian denominations the most important factors for the preservation of our national life (*Volkstum*).' 'The National Socialist State', he said in the following year,⁵ 'declares itself for positive Christianity. It will be my earnest endeavour to protect the two great Christian denominations in their rights, to shield them from attacks upon their doctrine, and, as regards their duties, to establish them in harmony with the ideas and requirements

¹ At Cologne, quoted *Kulturkampf*, November 30th, 1936.

² *Mein Kampf*, 6th ed., p. 124.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

⁴ March 24th, 1933, in the Reichstag. Quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 370.

⁵ August 17th, 1934. Quoted *ib.*

of the present State.' A few days later he said: 'National Socialism is neither anti-ecclesiastical nor anti-religious; on the contrary, it rests upon the basis of a real Christianity.'¹ As long ago as 1925 Herr Hitler had foreseen the possibility of a struggle with the Church and explained his anxiety to avoid it:² 'When to-day from various quarters the attempt is made to use the People's Movement for the purpose of religious controversy, I detect there the beginning of the end. Religious Reformations cannot be achieved by political children. . . . I am perfectly clear about the possibility of the beginning of such a battle, but I question whether the gentlemen who busy themselves in the matter are themselves clear about the probable end of it. At any rate it will be my supreme task to see to it that in the newly awakened National Socialist German Workers' Party the adherents of both denominations may be able to live together in peace, that they may stand together in the common struggle against that power which is the deadly enemy of any Christianity, no matter which denomination.' Herr Hitler went on to make plain that his quarrel with the Centre Party was exclusively on political, and not at all on religious, grounds. On September 11th, 1935, he made a proclamation:³

Neither in earlier times nor to-day has the Party the intention of waging any kind of war against Christianity. But under no circumstances will the National Socialist State tolerate the continuance or fresh beginning of the politicizing of the denominations by roundabout ways. Here let there be no mistake about the determination of the Movement and the State. We have already fought political clericalism once and driven it out of Parliament, and that, too, after a long struggle, in which we had no power of the State behind us, and the other side had all the power. To-day it is we who have this power; and we shall never wage the war as a war against Christianity or even against one of the two denominations; but we shall wage it in order to keep our public life free from those priests who have fallen short of their calling, and who think they have to be politicians, not pastors of the flock.

¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, August 28th, 1934.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 26th, 1925. Cited as an important document in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, July 1938, pp. 648 ff.

³ Quoted Ohlemüller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, p. 11.

It is not surprising that in the light of these and similar utterances it has been supposed that Herr Hitler himself is in no way responsible for the Church conflict that has arisen, and that the blame is deemed to lie at the door of political parsons or over-zealous Party members. This, however, is an error. Herr Hitler is anything rather than a theologian, and there is no reason to doubt that he means what he says, though his meaning may be misunderstood if these passages be considered alone. But I must now show that the Church struggle arises directly and inevitably out of Herr Hitler's own position, as these isolated observations and declarations are seen in the light of his policy or philosophy as a whole.

Here our chief and sufficient authority must be his book, *Mein Kampf*. In his speech on October 26th, 1935, Field-Marshal Göring quoted Herr Hitler's express declaration that *Mein Kampf* is the official exposition of the Party Programme, and added, 'every National Socialist knows that; it would be a good thing if every Churchman knew it too'.¹

Mein Kampf is not an easy book. Its style is singularly lacking in charm or elegance;² moreover, it is not altogether homogeneous in manner; but, if here and there the critic seems to detect the voice, if not the hand, of Herr Rosenberg or Dr. Goebbels, there can be no doubt that Herr Hitler takes responsibility for every word, and that his book is the 'Bible' of the Party.³ It has appeared in many editions. No German has had the temerity, nor foreigner the interest, to publish a critical text. Alterations, however, have been made, as it would appear, in the interests of prudence rather than from any change of the author's mind, nor is there the

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, northern ed., October 28th, 1935.

² I would fain plead this in extenuation of the gracelessness of the translations that follow.

³ Prelections from *Mein Kampf*, preceded and followed by Nazi hymns, are constantly read at Party Meetings with great solemnity. Many visitors to Berlin may remember a distinguished photographer's shop in Unter den Linden which displayed to the public gaze a picture representing a corner in Hermann Göring's Karin-Hall; in the dark background might be discerned the features of a Gothic Madonna; in the foreground, upon a sumptuous lectern flanked by candles set on noble candlesticks, there lay a *de luxe* edition of *Mein Kampf*.

slightest doubt about the main principles of the work. Three English translations, claiming to be complete, have recently appeared.¹ *Mein Kampf* is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the whole National Socialist Movement; it is for the most part a quasi-political treatise; we are here concerned with it only as it bears on the Church struggle. There is substantially no element in the conflict between Church and Party which is not latent already in *Mein Kampf*.

The book has little directly to say about religion. Christ is mentioned only twice. God, under whose particular guidance Herr Hitler feels himself to stand, is normally referred to as 'Providence' or 'Fate' or 'the Creator' or 'Heaven'. The fundamental political contention of the book is that Germany is no longer a world-power; she must either become such or cease to be.² The German Reich should include all Germans as a State; it should not merely assemble and preserve the best stock sprung from the original elements of the race, but gradually and surely bring it to a position of dominance.³ The right way to this end is first of all to strengthen Germany's position as a continental power by winning fresh territory in Europe with an eye to a later colonial empire.⁴ 'Without reference to "traditions" and prejudices . . . National Socialism must find the courage to gather our People and its strength that an advance may be made along that path which leads this People out of the limitations of the space in which now they must live into new soil and territory, and which thereby frees them for ever from the danger of perishing on this earth or of having to submit as a slave-people to the service of others.'⁵ Does such a policy coincide with the will of God? 'National boundaries

¹ *Mein Kampf* (London, Hurst & Blackett, 1939), and two American editions, one published by Messrs. Reynal & Hitchcock which is unexpurgated and fully annotated, and one, a freer translation, by Messrs. Stacpole. Portions of *Mein Kampf* may also be studied in English in four pamphlets published by 'The Friends of Europe', 122 St. Stephen's House, Westminster—'Friends of Europe' Pamphlets Nos. 34, 37, 38, and 41.

Mein Kampf is intelligible but not really credible apart from some knowledge of the author. Konrad Heiden's *Hitler—a Biography* (Constable, 1936) is a reliable study of the man and his story.

² *Mein Kampf*, p. 742.

³ Op. cit., p. 439.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 689 ff.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 731 ff.

are made by man, and by man they can be altered'; the uprising of Germany against her limitations is neither a command nor a defiance of fate; 'just as our forefathers did not receive the soil on which we now live as a gift from Heaven but had to fight for it at peril of their lives, so too in the future no grace for the people will assign us the soil and therewith the life for our People, but only the strength of a conquering sword.'¹ Such a policy is justified before God, 'since He has set us in this world under the condition of eternal struggle for daily bread as beings to whom nothing is given and who have to thank for their place as lords of the earth only their own genius and the courage whereby they know how to win and keep this place'.²

The only meaning and purpose of treaties is war.³ 'The deadly enemy' of Germany is France. Every effort must be made to bring to naught France's aim of a European hegemony. The quarrel with Italy in regard to the Southern Tyrol, with England in regard to the colonies, is entirely secondary to the destruction of France as our 'most ferocious hater'; the purpose of all alliances must be the overthrow of France.⁴ Victory in the coming war is assured not so much by treaties and alliances as by the fact that 'fate itself points the way'.⁵ Fate or destiny similarly indicates that Russia should be germanized, not judaized. The Jews bring, not organization like the Germans, but decomposition. Russia is ripe for collapse.⁶

Such is the political outlook. *Gallia delenda est*—France must be destroyed—because her constant striving after the domination of Europe is inconsistent with the needs, the demands, the greatness of the German People. That is intelligible enough. But the offence of France in seeking an hegemony is crossed by a further offence in the sphere of *Weltanschauung*. France is guilty of treason to the white races. France has no sense of racial purity; intermarriage with negroes is not forbidden; the setting up of brothels for black soldiers in the occupied portion of Germany after the War is a sin that cannot be forgiven; France stands for the

¹ Op. cit., pp. 740 ff.

² Op. cit., p. 739.

³ Op. cit., p. 749.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 755 ff.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 742.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 742 ff.

bastardizing of Europe. She treats the negro as an equal; she is the tool of the Jews; her destruction, therefore, is not merely a political necessity for Germany but also a crusade laid upon the Germans who recognize in racial intermixture 'the original sin' of mankind.¹

France, then, stands for imperialism and racial shame; the Germany of National Socialism for racial purity and the divinely willed supremacy of the highest type of man.

That for which we have to fight is the assurance of the stability and increase of our Race and of our People, the nourishing of its children, the preservation of the purity of the Blood, the freedom and independence of the Fatherland, to the end that our People may wax strong to fulfil the mission entrusted to it by the Creator of the Universe.²

The *Weltanschauung* of the People has no faith in the right of the races to equal privilege; it recognizes that, as they are different, so some are of higher and others of lower value; by this recognition it feels itself obliged, in accordance with the eternal Will that rules the universe, to further the victory of the better, the stronger, and to desire the subjection of the worse and weaker; hence it reverences primarily the aristocratic principle of Nature and believes in the validity of this law for every single individual being.³

The importance of these ideas for the sequel cannot well be exaggerated. We have passed from the sphere of politics proper into the realm of a philosophy which imposes upon the Germans a mission entrusted to them from on high. Politics, *Weltanschauung*, and religion are inextricably locked together. The vindication of Race and Blood and Soil in the subjection of the weaker is a divine mission. The will of God is identified with the supremacy of Germany. The doctrine is set forth as the *völkische Weltanschauung*, which means the philosophy of life of the German People.⁴ It is not a philo-

¹ Op. cit., pp. 704 ff.

² Op. cit., p. 234.

³ Op. cit., pp. 420 ff.

⁴ On the meaning of the term *Weltanschauung* v. H. Mankiewicz, *Le National-socialisme allemand*, i, pp. 11-18 (I am indebted to Professor Ernest Barker for this reference), also the discussions and references in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* and in *Handbuch der religiösen Gegenwartsfragen* (Freiburg, Herder; but it may be noted that the article referred to in the latter as being by W. Schmidt does not appear in the latest edition of the work cited); also *Weltanschauung*, by Dr. Paul Simon (Paderborn, 1935) and *Religion und Weltanschauung*, by Domvikar Josef Teusch (Köln, Bachem.)

sophy in the technical sense nor a religion in the sense of the higher religions, because it makes no claim to universality. Thus it might seem possible in theory to distinguish between religion and *Weltanschauung*, since men of the same religion may hold very various points of view. Christians may be Platonists or Thomists or Kantians—but they cannot be materialists or followers of Auguste Comte. But, since Herr Hitler's ideas are to be the driving force of the national life of Germany, and their fulfilment is to be identified with the will of God for the universe, it is obvious that this *Weltanschauung* is either itself a religion or part of a religion. Unless, therefore, these ideas of Race and Blood and Soil, of the supreme duty of racial purity and the God-willed supremacy of the German people be a part of, or at least compatible with, the Christian revelation, a 'Church Conflict' was inevitable.

Herr Hitler and his lieutenants have always insisted at the same time that religion is free, and that the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* must be accepted by all good Germans. Religion has in fact been free since the Revolution in so far as it has accepted, or accommodated itself to, the philosophy of Blood and Race and Soil. No man who has accepted *Mein Kampf* as his 'Bible' for this world has been persecuted because he fancied another Bible for his private and esoteric comfort.

'Racial inferiority' is to be asserted of such 'oppressed nations' as the Indians and Egyptians.¹ Negroes are simply 'born half-apes'.² But even the white races are by no means of equal merit; human achievement in art, science, and technique is almost exclusively the work of the Aryan race.³ 'Human culture and civilization upon this continent are inseparably connected with the presence of the Aryan.' To submit to the darkness that would fall upon Europe by the destruction or spoiling of the Aryan race would be 'in the judgement of the *Weltanschauung* of the People the most accursed of crimes. He who dares to lay hands upon the highest likeness of the Lord commits sacrilege against the kindly Creator of this miracle and co-operates in the banish-

¹ *Mein Kampf*, p. 747.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 317 ff.

ment from Paradise'.¹ But the supreme gift of the Aryans which constitutes their superiority lies, not in the intellectual prowess of individuals, but rather in the quality which enables the Aryan to subject his own personal interests and life to the good of the community.² Herein is the Aryan as far as possible removed in his nobility from the Jewish race.³ If it be objected that a rather extreme individualism would seem much more characteristically German, the answer is that this super-individualism is due to mixture of blood with meaner stocks.⁴ In other words, National Socialism represents the true German or Aryan spirit, and *Mein Kampf*, like the other more widely revered 'Bible', offers and needs beyond itself no corroborative witness of its revelation.

From the political point of view the supreme enemy is France; from the point of view of *Weltanschauung* it is the Jew. 'Should the Jew triumph over the peoples of this world with his Marxist confession of faith, his crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind. . . . Thus I believe myself to be acting to-day according to the mind of the Almighty Creator. While I defend myself against the Jew, I am doing battle for the work of the Lord.'⁵ Here we are to see an essential duty of the Church, which hitherto has overlooked it, namely, a concern for purity of blood. 'According to a definite plan these black parasites of the peoples dishonour our inexperienced young blond maidens and thereby destroy that for which this world can offer no substitute.' Both the Christian denominations look upon this horror with indifference. 'What matters for the future, however, is not whether the Protestants defeat the Catholics or vice versa, but whether the Aryan man survives or dies out.' The denominations have been concerned with matters of quite secondary importance. It is the solemn duty of every man who really belongs to the People to see to it within his own denomination 'that men do not only talk outwardly about God's will, but also actively fulfil God's will and do not let His work be dis-

¹ Op. cit., pp. 421 ff.

² Op. cit., p. 326. Herr Hitler would resent the suggestion that his ideal is really the 'collective man' of Bolshevist philosophy.

³ Op. cit., p. 338.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 430.

⁵ Op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

honoured'.¹ Protestantism has a sense for German nationalism, but its attitude to Judaism rests upon dogmatic grounds; but 'here we are concerned with the question which must be solved, for apart from its solution all other attempts at a rebirth or exaltation of the nation must be and must remain perfectly meaningless and impossible'.² The Churches are sinning against the image of God; they are less concerned about racial degeneration and Communist atheistic propaganda than about bringing the blessings of the Church to the Hottentots and Zulus.³ That is simply to play into the hands of the Jews who desire to inject the idea of the equality of all men. Thus the Churches sin against the will of the eternal Creator.⁴ The Jew is the parasite, the liar, the corrupter.

In this passionate anti-Semitism Herr Hitler doubtless expresses his own mind, but we hear also the voice, not only of Herr Alfred Rosenberg, but also of Herr Julius Streicher and of Dr. Josef Goebbels. There is much in National Socialism which a dispassionate mind must judge hysterical and pathological. The treatment of the Jews in Germany and Austria is a shocking illustration of the perversions of sadism. While it would be wholly improper to criticize or condemn a doctrine or policy because of the human infirmities of its sponsors, it is important to bear in mind that a streak of psychological abnormality and morbidity runs through the story of the National Socialist Movement as exemplified in very many of its leaders.

The Christian Church in Germany has not made any sustained and emphatic protest against the treatment of the Jews. The Jewish problem in Germany is much more difficult and serious than is recognized in English-speaking countries; moreover, the facts of the persecution have not been realized or fully known. But there have been individual protests in Germany and a general repudiation of the Nazi principle. The anti-Semitism of the Party does not at first sight play any large part in the Church conflict, but the fact that this ferocious and illimitable anti-Semitism is an integral element in the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* would of

¹ Op. cit., p. 630.

² Op. cit., p. 123.

³ Op. cit., pp. 445 ff.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 478 ff.

itself be an inevitable barrier to the whole-hearted acceptance of National Socialism by the Christian Church.¹

The political principle is the enmity and ill will of France. The philosophico-religious principle is the divine right of Race, Blood, and Soil, the obligation of racial purity, the natural supremacy of the Aryan man, and the corrupting influence of the Jews. This was to be later developed in the writings of Alfred Rosenberg. We have now to consider the method of National Socialism, the merits of propaganda, to be later illustrated by Dr. Goebbels.

Herr Hitler, whose researches into history have not been profound, declares that 'the first spiritual terror' came into the world with Christianity; there have been reigns of terror ever since; compulsion can only be broken by a greater compulsion; terror can only be driven out by terror.² Therefore what National Socialism needs is 'religious fanaticism'. 'The weight of any powerful organization as the embodiment of an idea in this world lies in the religious fanaticism with which, fanatically persuaded of its own right, it impatiently attacks all rivals.'³ The future of a movement depends upon the impatience and fanaticism with which it makes its exclusive claims and assails movements of a similar kind.⁴ Christianity itself could not be satisfied with raising its own altars; it was compelled at the same time to throw down the altars of the heathen. 'Only out of this fanatical impatience could the irrefutable faith build itself up; this impatience is, indeed, its necessary presupposition.'⁵ 'The weight of Christianity lay not in attempts at accommodation to similar philosophical attitudes of antiquity but in its inexorable fanatical preaching and vindication of its own doctrine.'⁶

We may observe that it is not easy to see how the Christianity known to history can live together with this new fanaticism of Blood, Race, and Soil. We shall see in the sequel that the alleged possibility of harmonious co-operation does not apply to historic Christianity unchanged and as at

¹ A defence of National Socialist anti-Semitism will be found in *Der deutsche Antisemitismus in geistig-seelischer Betrachtung*, by Sotirios Pharmakidis (Berlin, Batschari-Verlag).

² *Mein Kampf*, pp. 506 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 506.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 385.

present organized in the two great Churches. It will be maintained, often at the same time, that religion, that is, true Christianity, is not interested in the concerns of National Socialism, being occupied exclusively with the world to come and the emotions of piety, and that National Socialism, doing the Lord's work, is itself alone authentic Christianity. The Church has had to contend against both parts of this inherent contradiction.

The supreme means for the maintenance of the required degree of religious fanaticism is the Press.¹ The method to be adopted is that the Press 'at a given sign let loose a downright drum-fire of lies and vituperation against the opponents that seem most dangerous up to the point where the nerve of those attacked is broken'.²

The task of propaganda is not to weigh up various rights but to emphasize exclusively the one right that it desires to vindicate. It has not to search out the truth objectively so far as it may be favourable to the other side, in order then to set the truth before the masses in its theoretical integrity, but rather to serve its own ends uninterrupted. . . . So far as one's own propaganda recognizes a shadow of right upon the opponent's side, the ground is prepared for questioning one's own right. The masses are not in a position to distinguish where the opponent's right ends and one's own begins. In such a case they begin to be uncertain and mistrustful, especially when the opponent does not commit the same folly but on his side lays any and every fault at the door of his enemy.³

Those who suppose that if only Herr Hitler would drop overboard his unpopular colleagues, Herr Alfred Rosenberg and Dr. Josef Goebbels, 'all would be lovely in the garden', have not paid due attention to the fundamental principles of *Mein Kampf*.

In order that the necessary blind faith may be sustained, one's own teaching must be unalterable and infallible, and it must be anchored more securely in feeling than in thought.⁴

He who would win the masses must know the key that opens the door to their hearts. It is not objectivity, which is weakness, but will and power. . . . The people sees in unflinching ruthlessness

¹ Op. cit., pp. 92 ff.

² Op. cit., p. 45.

³ Op. cit., p. 201.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 512.

attack upon an opponent the proof of one's own right, any hesitation about the destruction of the other it sees as uncertainty in respect to one's own right, if not as a proof that one has no right at all. The masses are only a bit of nature. . . . What they want is the victory of the stronger and the destruction of the weak or at least their unqualified subjection. The nationalizing of our masses will only succeed when their international poisoners have been eliminated by every affirmative battle for the soul of our people.¹

If a number of enemies are attacked at once, the question will arise in the popular mind whether all these others can be wholly mistaken, whether one's own nation or one's own Movement can alone be in the right. Hence a number of intrinsically different opponents must be lumped together, so that there seem to be only one enemy. This will increase the people's faith and embitter them the more against the foe.²

This might seem the very ground-plan of what was to follow. The Catholic Church and the Oxford Conference of the other Churches in 1937 are supremely dangerous, because as international they are poison to the German people; the attack on the Church must be under the heading of the war on Communism.

The necessary 'blind faith'³ must be rooted in emotion. This is achieved through drill to the point of blind obedience, through the inducing of an 'intoxication',⁴ hatred,⁵ and even 'hysteria'.⁶ 'The strength of a political party in no way lies in a maximum independent inspiration (*Geistigkeit*) in the individual members, but much more in the disciplined obedience with which its members follow the inspired leadership.' Other things being equal, it is the best drilled troops that win.⁷ 'From the very beginning it was important to cultivate blind discipline in our meetings.'⁸ Mass meetings are of the greatest importance, for there is a 'magical influence in that which we designate with the word mass-suggestion'.⁹ 'In the overwhelming majority of cases the People is of so feminine a disposition that its thought and action is determined not so much by sober reflection as by sentiment

¹ Op. cit., pp. 371 ff.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 183 ff.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 510.

² Op. cit., p. 129.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 201.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 541.

³ Op. cit., p. 512.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 371.

⁹ Op. cit., p. 536.

and feeling.' This feeling is not complicated but very simple; everything is either black or white.¹ 'Faith is harder to upset than knowledge, love is less subject to alteration than respect, hate lasts longer than aversion, and the driving force of the most powerful revolutions on this earth has always lain less in a scientific knowledge that dominated the masses than in a fanaticism that filled their souls and, indeed, often in an hysteria that drove them on.'² 'In the end victory is always the prize of a frenzy for self-preservation. Beneath it so-called humanitarianism, as the expression of a mixture of folly, cowardice, and ingrained cunning, melts as the snow in the March sun. In eternal battle has mankind grown great—in eternal peace it collapses.'³

Of his personal attitude to Christianity Herr Hitler does not speak in public. Hugo Rotmich wrote in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*: 'We know on good authority that, when Hitler was questioned about his attitude to the German Church conflicts, he answered that his friends who ought to know had told him that in 150–200 years from now Christianity would be extinct.'⁴ In his book *I Knew Hitler*⁵ Kurt Ludeke reports Herr Hitler as saying:

National Socialism is a form of conversion, a new faith, but we don't need to raise that issue—it will come of itself. Just as I insist on the mathematical certainty of our coming to power, because might always attracts might, and the traditional wings, whether they be Left or Right, constructive or destructive, will always attract all the activist elements, leaving only a juiceless pulp in the middle—just so do I insist on the certainty that sooner or later, once we hold the power, Christianity will be overcome, and the *Deutsche Kirche* established. Yes, the German Church, without a Pope and without the Bible—and Luther, if he could be with us, would give us his blessing. Of course, I myself am a heathen to the core.

It is not entirely clear whether, except in the last sentence, we are to understand that we have the exact words of Herr Hitler or only their general purport; Kurt Ludeke is an

¹ Op. cit., p. 201.

² Op. cit., p. 371.

³ Op. cit., pp. 148 ff.

⁴ Quoted in *Kulturkampf*, May 1st, 1936.

⁵ p. 465, quoted in *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, by the Dean of Chichester, p. 162.

authority whom I would quote with caution, but there is no doubt that he has heard many of Herr Hitler's private speeches to the Party, and no reason to suppose that he is inventing here; moreover, it is very generally believed that Herr Hitler speaks along these lines in his private orations to his disciples at the *Ordensburgen*.

But Herr Hitler's personal attitude to the Christian faith is not here of primary importance. What is certain is that, since it attained to power, National Socialism has consistently, ceaselessly, and systematically put into practice the theories of *Mein Kampf*.

Further, if Herr Hitler on only rare occasions intervenes in the Church conflict, yet it continues only because of his approval. The Church persecution was 'called off' as inconvenient at the time of the Olympic Games in Berlin. It is known that Dr. Martin Niemöller is in a concentration camp by direct intervention of the Führer. On the eve of the election in 1938 an edition of *Das Schwarze Korps* was suppressed at the last moment, and in its place was substituted, for the benefit of Christian voters, an issue of almost languishing piety. There can be no question that in general Herr Hitler approves and wills the conflict with which in the following pages we are concerned. 'The encouragement of the new paganism by the State authorities in Germany, the cultural influence of Rosenberg and the oppression of the Church, all originated with Hitler.' This is the judgement of Konrad Heiden who knew Herr Hitler well. 'The neo-pagan movement', he adds, 'does not, perhaps, entirely accord with his political principles, but it certainly accords with his private feelings.'¹

¹ Heiden, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

II

HERR ROSENBERG AND HIS MYTH

IF Herr Hitler is the politician of the National Socialist Movement, and Dr. Goebbels its advertiser, Herr Rosenberg is its 'prophet'. Herr Alfred Rosenberg, who might seem to his admirers to be a felicitous illustration of the blending of the Aryan and Mongolian races, is entrusted by the Führer with the oversight of 'spiritual and philosophical schooling and education' in the racial religion. He is, then, the official expounder of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*; his interpretation of National Socialism is taught in the schools, in the Hitler Youth, in the universities; no theological or other professor can be appointed in any university without his consent; he is the editor of the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*; pamphlets disputing his views have been confiscated by the police, critics have been imprisoned under the Law for the Protection of State and People; his official status was emphasized and his prestige increased when, at the Party Rally in 1937, he was given the German 'equivalent' of the Nobel Prize for his scientific services to the German People.

Herr Hitler in *Mein Kampf* has relatively little to say about religion and Christianity; Herr Rosenberg's large work, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*,¹ is much concerned with the religious aspects of the National Socialist philosophy and offers a long discourse upon that 'positive' variety of Christianity upon which the National Socialist State would claim to rest. The views of Herr Rosenberg, therefore, if not intrinsically important, are in the highest degree significant for the conflict between National Socialism and the Christian Church.

Of the *Myth of the Twentieth Century* it is impossible to write with real respect. It is a monument of pseudo-scholarship,

¹ *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, by Alfred Rosenberg (München, Hohen-eichen-Verlag, 1930).

full of absurdities, misstatements, and bizarre theories.¹ It has been very sufficiently answered in the *Studien*,² to which reference is made below, and for the Protestants by W. Küneth in his *Antwort auf den Mythus*.³

Herr Rosenberg thus presents the origins of Christianity as they are to be taught to the youth of Germany: In Asia Minor under stress of Roman rule, we learn, 'there arose among the oppressed population the hope of one who should lead and free the slaves. This was the legend of Chrestus. From Asia Minor this Chrestus myth passed to Palestine, where it was enthusiastically adopted, combined with the Jewish notion of Messiah and projected upon Jesus'. If this theory should prove unconvincing, we are offered an alternative—that the Christian faith represents an amalgam of the Persian Saosyant and the Jewish Messiah. In any case there is not the slightest reason for supposing that our Lord was born of Jewish stock. He was not Son of God, and in the Jewish sense He never claimed to be Messiah. 'The mighty preacher, He who was wroth in the Temple, not the Crucified, is to-day the ideal that shines forth for us from the Gospels.' The Synoptic Gospels need careful revision. We await the man who shall write the fifth Gospel for the modern world.

The real founder of the Christianity we know was the apostle Paul. His so-called conversion was the clever trick of a political Jew, a trick so successful that it has taken nineteen hundred years for its discovery! His hypnotic preaching appealed mostly to women. He lifted the national Jewish opposition to the Government on to an international

¹ In English the *Mythus* may be studied in three pamphlets of 'The Friends of Europe':

No. 46. 'Mythus' I. *The Worship of Race*, with a foreword by Professor Charles Beard.

No. 44. 'Mythus' II. *The Character of the New Religion*, with a foreword by Dr. John Arendzen.

No. 48. 'Mythus' III. *International Implications of the New Religion*, with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Josiah Wedgwood.

² *Studien zum Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts*, a study by German Catholic scholars published in 1934 as a special supplement in the *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* for the Diocese of Cologne. The study is summarized in Pamphlet No. 27 in the 'Friends of Europe' series under the title of *Rosenberg's Positive Christianity*.

³ Berlin, Wichern-Verlag, 1935.

scale and thus increased the race-chaos of the ancient world; he aimed at a world-revolution exalting the humble, the meek, the outcast, the least desirable elements in the population. It is St. Paul who is responsible for the bastardizing, the orientalizing, and the judaizing (*Verbastadierung, Verorientalisierung, Verjudung*) of the Christian religion.

Christianity must be delivered from all its Jewish elements. In particular, the Old Testament must go. The God of the Old Testament is 'the demon Jahweh', whose Creation of the world out of nothing by the exercise of His will is 'for us an idiotic idea'. 'Once for all', he says, 'the Old Testament as a book of religion must be done away', and therewith 'the unsuccessful attempt of the last fifteen hundred years to make us spiritually Jews.' 'That which took place once in the Syrian (*sic*) wilderness can, perhaps, interest historians and students of saga but has nothing whatever to do with religion.' In the place of the Old Testament must be put the Nordic sagas and fairy stories received at first as they stand and later interpreted as symbols; they represent not 'the dream of hate and murderous Messianism' but 'the dream of Honour and Freedom'.

In these contentions we see how an undisciplined mind has brought together various of the wilder theories of rationalistic criticism and used them in the interests, not of Rationalism, but of a romantic racialism. Herr Rosenberg is so lacking in the qualities of scholarship that the significance of his reconstruction may escape observation. The Christian Church claims to rest upon the revelation of God declared in Scripture and defined in the historic creeds. If this faith be rejected, some rationalistic account of the origins of Christianity must be propounded; but Rationalism is no substitute for religion; Racialism therefore comes as an emotional release from Rationalism. In England Christianity is confronted by Indifferentism. In Germany to-day there is little Indifferentism; Christianity and Racialism stand opposed as two religions. Herr Rosenberg's theories in detail may be no more than an occasion for laughter in the educated world; his immense importance lies in the acceptance of his basic notions as the authentic philosophy

of National Socialism and in his almost unlimited power in the field of German education. Herr Rosenberg must be taken seriously if the German situation is to be understood.

His excursions into Church history are of no greater merit than his account of origins. He has swallowed the Etruscan theory of an unfortunate book that did less than nothing to enhance the reputation of its author, Dr. Albert Grünwedel.¹ The ruin of Rome, we read, was largely due to the Etruscans who represented sexual perversion and obscenity. In the Catholic Church 'the *haruspex* conquered; the Roman Pope set himself up as his immediate successor, while the lords of the temple, the College of Cardinals, represent a mixture—on the one part the Etrusco-Syrian-Hither-Asiatics and the Jews and on the other the Nordic Senate of Rome'. Our medieval *Weltanschauung* goes back to the Etruscan *haruspex*.

St. Augustine was a 'servile half-African'; there was no real persecution of the Christians, for the 'eunuch' (*sic*) Eusebius is not a reliable historian. 'To write Roman and dogmatic Church history', says Herr Rosenberg, 'is to make the attempt to work out the magical-demonic world-conceptions of the medicine-man in a world-political sense.' The Cathari and the Waldensians, like the Arians before them and the Huguenots later, represent the protest of the German spirit in the interests of liberty! This is rhapsody, not history, but those who have studied the *Schulungsbriefe*, issued officially and privately for the edification of German school teachers, will know that this is the sort of 'history' sponsored by the Nazis on a national scale.

It was in Meister Eckehart, says Herr Rosenberg, that 'the Nordic soul came for the first time completely to consciousness of itself'. Nine-tenths of Meister Eckehart's writings, as the author of the *Studien* points out, are written in Latin. With the one-tenth that is in German Herr Rosenberg seems alone to be acquainted, and that through a most imperfect text. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has failed to make any notable contribution to the study of the master. In modern Germany, however, his views upon the Nordic soul

¹ *Tusca*, by Dr. Albert Grünwedel (Leipzig, 1922), referred to in *Mythus* (1934 edition), pp. 63 ff.

have much importance, even if Meister Eckehart did not share them.

We come, then, to a brief exposition of 'positive' Christianity, as Herr Rosenberg calls it, in distinction from the 'negative' Christianity of the Churches. Party leaders in Germany never tire of asserting that with Christianity as such they have no kind of quarrel. It is, therefore, of much importance to understand what they mean by Christianity. Of this Herr Rosenberg is the official prophet and exponent.

'Christianity', he says, 'has to thank the German character for its enduring values.' This might seem paradoxical. But, if we permit ourselves to suppose that our Lord was a German or Nordic by race, and if we eliminate from the Christian faith and the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels everything that may be traced back to the religion of the Jews or the influence of the Hither-Asiatic-Syrian-Etruscans, it appears less unreasonable to suppose that the modern German soul, revived by the achievements of Herr Hitler, knows best what is authentic Christianity. Had it not been for their conversion to Christianity, that is, presumably, to historic Christianity, the Germans, says Herr Rosenberg, would long since have developed a new ethical and metaphysical system with Honour as its *leitmotiv*. Unfortunately the Germans adopted ideas of love in the sense of 'humility, mercy, subjection and asceticism'. 'Every right-thinking German', he continues, now recognizes that this conception of universal love is a 'blow at the soul of Nordic Europe'.

The Church from the first has been anti-national and racially indiscriminating. No more serious charge could be brought against it. 'The German character-values are the eternal to which everything else must be related'; therefore 'a man or a movement that would help this value to complete victory has the moral right not to spare the opposition. They have the right spiritually to overcome it, to get it overwhelmed by organization, to render it politically impotent.' For 'the racial soul of the people (*die rassengebundene Volksseele*) is the measure of all our thoughts, all the motions of our will, all our actions; it is the final norm of our values'. Thus we must strive to bring 'the reason and will into harmony with

the spiritual-racial stream of Germanism (*Germanentum*)'. Hence the importance of racial purity, and hence eugenics as the normative discipline of the new religion!

With the myth of the 'racial soul of the People' we are invited to combine in some way unexplained the apparently contrary principle of individual freedom. 'The freedom of the soul is a value in itself. The Church-values (love, humility, mercy, grace, &c.) are simply relative to something beyond themselves.' Again, 'the dignity of the purely self-dependent soul is supreme; it alone has man to serve; we modern men shall call it the deepest metaphysical root of the idea of Honour, which likewise is an idea in itself (*Idee an sich!*), that is, without reference to any other value'. Once more, 'the idea of Freedom is not to be thought of apart from Honour, nor Honour without Freedom. The soul achieves good itself (*wirkt Gutes selbst*) without reference to God, as Eckehart teaches. Herein Meister Eckehart approves himself the creator of a new religion.'

We may observe that Meister Eckehart had unhappily no notion of his own achievement, and that a purely formal freedom, a mere principle of *non serviam*, is nothing. Further, if freedom be combined with honour, and honour be interpreted in biological terms of the Race, we seem to have a thin veneer of Romanticism to cover the crudities of the primitive tribal mind. The deification of the racial soul is scarcely to be distinguished from the deification of the soul of him who claims to interpret and embody the ideals of the racial soul.

It is not surprising that no part of the Christian profession is more antipathetic to Herr Rosenberg than its doctrines of man, of sin, and of grace. 'Goethe', he says, 'recognized as important, not the death of Christ, but His life. Therein he expressed the soul of the German West, that positive Christianity as distinct from the negative Christianity of a priesthood that goes back to Etrusco-Asiatic ideas.' Man needs in this world a spiritual strengthening, which is to be regarded as a 'gift of an eternal Being conceived as God'. This has been perverted into a doctrine of grace and connected with the Jewish idea of the Servant of God. The

charge lies alike against Rome and Wittenberg; thus 'the churches are not Christian but Pauline', that is, Jewish. Germans must abandon the preaching of 'the Servant and the scape-goat as the Lamb of God'; a German Church will replace the crucifix with the representation of 'the teaching Fire-Spirit (*der lehrende Feuergeist*)'.

Sin, indeed, is recognized by Herr Rosenberg. 'Any hindrance to the attainment of an immanent purpose (*Gestaltsausbildung*) is a double sin, a sin against nature and a sin against the upward striving of inner powers and values.' This doctrine, which Herr Rosenberg supposes to mark a transcending of the old 'scholastic-humanistic-classicist schematism', takes on a sinister form when sin is in effect identified with any disharmony with 'the spiritual-racial stream of Germanism'.

In Herr Rosenberg's Romanticism God is conceived as wholly immanent. The Nordic soul proclaims in autonomy, in freedom, and in honour its equality (*Gleichwertigkeit*) with God. The human soul is not merely similar to God (*ähnlich*) but equal to God (*gleich*). Hence inevitably there can be no such thing as revelation. 'Soul is race seen from within; and, vice versa, race is the outward side of soul.' This part of Herr Rosenberg's doctrine is not unfairly summed up by the authors of the *Studien* thus: 'The race-value is the only absolute, the supreme, value, from which all other values derive their status; the concept "God", in particular, has only a basis in reality in so far as the "eternal" race-soul is meant.'

Yet, for all this, Herr Rosenberg would still proclaim himself a Christian, if not, indeed, a prophet. He declares that he would 'overcome the current system of values of the "Christian" Churches in order to make room for the influence of the Figure of Jesus'. Hence, 'in spite of all the Christian Churches Jesus represents a pivot of our history'. The Third Reich stands, not for Christianity as it has been misrepresented by the Churches, but for Christianity in its 'positive' form. In other words, Christianity is not to be interpreted in the light of the Bible and the creeds, but in the light of the racial soul. This, it will be observed, is simply an extreme

form of 'Modernism'. It is in principle a matter of indifference whether Christianity be interpreted in terms of current Rationalism or current Racialism. A conflict with the historic Christian Church was unavoidable.

It is not surprising that before the Revolution few men of education had endured to read the *Mythus* and none to take it seriously. But we are precluded from understanding the present situation in Germany unless we realize that by the Party in power the ideas of the *Mythus*, the religion of Blood, Race, and Soil with Herr Hitler as its Muhammad, are taken with all seriousness and made the basis alike of education and of political action.

On the significance of Herr Rosenberg's work the editor-in-chief of the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* wrote thus:¹

For the best and deepest men of to-day religion is no longer dogma, no longer denomination; the divine secret reveals itself to us in the notions of Blood, Race, and Soil which are from everlasting to everlasting. The man who disavows these values or seeks to impair their eternal working disavows life and therewith God who is the source of all life. Our religion would not be, if our Blood were not; that is the great mystic meaning of Rosenberg's work.

This is a typical utterance of the Nazi Press. 'The State', said Herr Rosenberg,² 'has no longer to take its place as something alongside of the People and the Movement, whether as a mechanical apparatus or as a dominant instrument; rather the State is a tool of the dominant National Socialist *Weltanschauung*.'

From these principles the attitude of National Socialism to the Churches can be logically deduced; but Herr Rosenberg is explicit. 'The Churches', he wrote in a communication to the Confessional Church, 'whether under Catholic, Confessional, or German Christian leadership, have essentially only one task—to make known to the people to whom they speak the belief of the Church concerning the life beyond (*Jenseitsglaube*). The earth on which we live has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the Church. With regard to the earth and its affairs National Socialism alone

¹ February 22nd, 1934.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 9th, 1934.

can prescribe for us.¹ Innumerable passages to the same effect could be cited also from the other chief leaders of the Party.

The Christianity to be tolerated or welcomed is not that of the Churches. 'The truth is just this that the God whom Jesus Christ and the European world of nations conceived has nothing whatever to do with Jehovah'; efforts to show a connexion are simply cunning dodges of theologians and priests.² 'In the consciousness of Europeans the first place has been assumed by the People, not the Church. Hence the greatest crime is seen to be, not heresy, but treason.'³ The National Socialist philosophy is definite upon this, that 'the German People is the subject, not of original sin, but of original nobility'.⁴ When, therefore, Herr Rosenberg quotes Fr. Muckermann as saying, 'earlier it was for German Catholics self-evident that they set their religion above all, even above their fatherland', he comments, 'that is nothing more or less than at bottom to claim treason to People and Land as a matter of religious right'.⁵ The Nazis know how to deal with traitors.

¹ December 10th, 1937. Cited by Mr. Sydney Moore in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 12th, 1938.

² *Protestantische Rompflger*, by Alfred Rosenberg (Munchen, Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1937), p. 36.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

III

THE PARTY AND THE STATE

THE inevitability and course of the Church conflict is only intelligible if the relation of the National Socialist Party to the State be clearly grasped. The National Socialist Party as a whole with most of its leaders adopts an anti-ecclesiastical and even anti-Christian attitude, as did the Social Democrats in earlier times. Such a position might lead in a normal State to the abolition of Church privileges in the form of endowments or establishments, but it would not involve that which could properly be called a 'persecution'. It is the claim of the Party to be alike the sole representative of the State and in itself a quasi-Church that leads inevitably to the 'persecution'.

The Church conflict is not a struggle in a free State between two groups within the State with access to Press and platform for their debates. Rather, the Church faces a Party group which is highly organized, omnipresent in the State, and in possession of all political and physical power, and which in view of its *Weltanschauung*, believed and proclaimed as a political Gospel, is itself a 'political Church'. The religious Church stands over against the political Church.

Herr Hitler has proved himself a man of astonishing organizing ability. The welding together of his Party out of the most heterogeneous elements was in itself a remarkable achievement. Further, he had to help him the example of Signor Mussolini, from whom he borrowed the idea of what we may call a 'shadow-State' within the Party, the *sostituzioni* of the Italian organization. That is, he had already, before his seizure of power, set up skeleton ministries and a skeleton Civil Service within the Party that were able at once to take over responsibility. The Party being a minority was already organized as a State within the State—with its army, its police, its propaganda department, and its Press. By the seizure of power it at once identified the whole State with

itself; the principles on which the Party was organized became the principles on which the State was organized; the enemies of the Party became the enemies of the State; the *Weltanschauung* of the Party became the *Weltanschauung* of the State. All this was effected by uniting in single persons a double office; thus, for instance, the head of the propaganda or the police of the Party became also and at the same time head of the propaganda or the police in the State.

Similarly the social organization of the national life was co-ordinated (*gleichgeschaltet*) with the Party. Thus the unions of teachers, merchants, students, lawyers, artisans, agricultural workers, doctors, nurses, welfare workers, and scientists were all reorganized and brought under the control of the Party by the expedient of putting the national organization under the control of a Party leader. Preparations for this had been made before the Revolution, for there had already been organized a National Socialist Teachers' Union, Lawyers', Doctors' Unions, and the like. The organization was complete except only that there was no National Socialist Church.

But apart from the public unions which could be co-ordinated with relative ease there were the great lay organizations of the Church, such, for instance, as the Catholic Teachers' Association, the Catholic Workers' Union, and the Youth Associations of the Catholics and Evangelicals. These could be dealt with gradually; they could be forbidden or otherwise squeezed out by regulations. The attempt of Reichsbischof Müller to co-ordinate the Evangelical Church, by being himself at once member of the Party and autocrat in the Church, failed as early as 1933. The Catholic Church received legal protection under the Concordat. Thus from the first the Church was the one exception to the rule of 'co-ordination'. Every aspect of the national life was subjected directly or indirectly to the Party except only the Christian Church.

On principle the totalitarian State cannot permanently tolerate any organization of the masses that is independent of itself. Any such organization it regards as in competition with itself and as jeopardizing national unity. This is more

particularly the case where the totalitarian State does not, as in Italy, confine itself to the sphere of the social and political, but espouses also a *Weltanschauung* or philosophy of the whole of life. The National Socialist philosophy of Race, Blood, and Soil is in itself a quasi-religion; hence the Party is inevitably itself a quasi-church. Hence the Christian Church, both as an independent organization of the masses and also as sponsor of a philosophy at variance with the quasi-religion of Race, Blood, and Soil, is of necessity regarded as a rival and an enemy by the National Socialist Party.

The Church conflict, therefore, is not a regrettable episode in the development of National Socialism, a mistake or miscalculation which with a little forbearance and goodwill on both sides could easily be overcome. The conflict is inevitable and impatient of any solution without compromise of principle. The conflict is also properly called a persecution because it is not, as in a democratic country it would be, a controversy between two rival philosophies, with the State to keep the ring or act as impartial umpire; for here the Church faces a State represented by a Party that feels itself to be in some sense a Church. Moreover, the struggle is waged on the side of the Party without any regard to the rules and conventions which would bind a democratic State in its dealings with minority groups within its borders. The conflict is unequal precisely because the Party recognizes no distinction between itself and the State. The Church from the point of view of this kind of totalitarian State is essentially an anomaly, a *monstrum*; it is within the State and yet as independent of the Party, which is substantially identified with the State, it is outside the State, an enemy. The boasted toleration, therefore, under the principle that 'every one may seek blessedness in any way he likes', is *de facto* a dead letter, since no toleration can be extended to those who repudiate the philosophy of the Party, that is, *ex hypothesi* of the State itself. The Church as recalcitrant to the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* is cut off from the real life of the nation.

This is the principle, inherent in the claim of the National Socialist philosophy, which makes the Church conflict in-

evitable and explains its course. The story that follows is not the history of a series of needless blunders and stupidities but the logical working out of a clear and acknowledged principle.

The fundamental principle of the Party and therewith also of the whole organization of the State and nation is that of absolute unity in *Weltanschauung*. This is guaranteed by the *Führerprinzip* or principle of leadership, by the hierarchical and military organization of the Party machine, by the control over every organization through Party members, and by the unqualified obedience and blind discipline of these Party members. This discipline is safeguarded in two ways: first, Party members are put in an exceptional position before the law, for members of the 'S.A.' and 'S.S.' are under a quasi-military law that is independent of the ordinary courts; second, it is safeguarded in the case of the ordinary citizen by the ruthless application of something like 'martial law' which in effect robs the individual of all rights whatsoever.

At the summit of the edifice stands the Führer or Leader with his staff that is wholly dependent on him. Under him the Party is organized in districts, circuits, local groups, and even smaller entities. In many cases the Party official and the civil official are united in the same person: thus, for instance, the Party District Leader (*Gauleiter*) will be also the civil *Oberpräsident* of the province, the Party Circuit Leader will be the civil *Landrat* of the circuit, the Party local Group Leader will be the *Bürgermeister*. Even where this is not the case, the control of the Party is almost unqualified; for no civil official can be nominated for office without the consent of the corresponding authority in the Party, and if a *Bürgermeister*, for instance, should act against the wishes of the local Group Leader, he would not retain his office for many days and would be fortunate if he did not lose his liberty with his office.¹ Thus the majority of officials with executive functions are Party members. In particular, it is felt to be important that the President of the Police should be the Leader of the local Storm Troops or Black Guards

¹ Only if the will of the Group Leader involved some notorious scandal or outrageous irrationality would a *Bürgermeister* be upheld against him.

(‘S.A.’ or ‘S.S.’); for this puts the executive powers of the State immediately into the hands of the Party.¹ Each Party leader has under him a staff for his district, circuit, or locality to deal with propaganda, the Labour Front, youth, the administration of law and education. Through this staff, holding corresponding office also under the State, the unity of State and Party is still further strengthened. Thus, for instance, the Party official responsible for propaganda in the district is also head of the corresponding propaganda department under the Ministry of Propaganda; so likewise with the organization of the Press and the control of publishing, the disciplining of the Labour Front, the Lawyers’ and Doctors’ Unions, the Hitler Youth. This method of organization extends even down to the local groups. Thus it comes about that of the three million Party members some half hold leading positions either directly from the State or in some of its associated organizations such as the Labour Front, the Union of Doctors, Welfare Work, or the like.

The Party members, especially those who hold important offices, are subjected to a long course of instruction, more particularly in the *Weltanschauung* or philosophy of the Party. Those holding lesser offices are instructed similarly by courses held in the evenings or in free times. Their teachers are themselves assisted by a large educative literature which is often not available to the public and of which much use has been made in the pages following. At the head of the whole edifice of instruction stands the author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, Herr Alfred Rosenberg.

It is obvious that the Party as the sole and exclusive representative of the German People can achieve much that seems to the uninitiated to point to a far greater unity of the German People than actually exists, the more so as this Party organization with its absence of any sort of freedom implies of itself a negative principle of selection. It draws to itself the ‘right’ people, opportunists like the Vicar of Bray

¹ The Gestapo (or Secret Police) is wholly dependent on the Black Guards (‘S.S.’), and most of its members are ‘S.S.’ men. From the Gestapo there is no appeal before the law, since the Gestapo is independent of the Ministry of Justice.

(*Konjunkturritter*), blind believers, men who would rather obey anybody than think for themselves, men who have a longing to exercise authority, together with idealists who for the people's sake are prepared to sacrifice even their free thought. Thus political adventurers and idealists and, perhaps, those who at the same time are both are to be found within the Party. It would, however, be fair to add that the defections of idealists from the Party ranks have been very heavy, especially since, once power had been seized, questions of *Weltanschauung* appeared in the forefront of the Party programme.

Thanks to its organization the Party can get rid of troublesome persons by means of public demonstrations. The so-called 'seething soul of the People' (*die kochende Volksseele*), which is a standing requirement of the Party, is in effect an organized Party demonstration which by means of mass-suggestion can always achieve sufficient *éclat*. When, as often occurs in the Church struggle where the Church exercises passive resistance, the requisite masses are not available for the demonstration, then 'the masses' and 'the seething soul of the People' can very easily be organized by bringing up convoys of sympathizers or Storm Troopers in civil clothes from neighbouring towns. Thus, when a demonstration was to be staged against the Bishop of Rottenburg in July 1938, thousands of persons were brought into the town in motor coaches for the purpose.¹ Again, it would often have happened that even in great cities leading ministers of the Reich would not have filled a great hall but for this organization of an appreciative audience. National Socialism is never content with a majority however great; there must always be unanimity.

The Party is thus, thanks to its own organization and discipline, always in a position to organize 'the seething soul of the People' against bishops or particular clergymen. These demonstrations of national disapproval can be followed appropriately by an arrest of the offender or by police orders forbidding him to continue to live in this place or to speak in that. Similarly a word from head-quarters can let

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 219.

loose a nation-wide agitation in the Press against the Church and can as easily and as suddenly 'call it off'. The trial under the currency laws or the immorality proceedings are outstanding illustrations of this practice. Again, as the struggle for the schools will show, the Party has at its disposal innumerable means of exercising psychological pressure upon those who would oppose. Against the Party and the action of its members there is hardly ever any possibility of appeal, since the State, which according to the democratic conception is through the law and the courts above all party, is in modern Germany not distinguishable from the Party.

It is difficult for those brought up with Christian or democratic sympathies not to view this new conception of the State and this totalitarian organization of society with great distaste. This leads in many cases to a false appraisal of the situation. Such people tend to regard the many offences of National Socialism against the Christian or democratic conception of Right as lamentable lapses from principles of universal recognition. They suppose that the Nazis in these cases are offenders against principles to which the Nazis themselves would publicly subscribe. This indicates a complete misunderstanding. The Nazis are not occasional or frequent offenders against their own ideals; they are very consistently loyal to the ideals that they have espoused. Herr Hitler and Herr Rosenberg mean what they say. In particular, as the sequel will make clear, they find the basis of Right, not in some universal law, whether written in the hearts of all men or revealed from heaven, but in the demands and requirements of 'the German soul'. Right is what the People wills, and the will of the People is represented solely by the Party. This will be almost inconceivable to many readers. None the less, it is explicitly affirmed in the official Party documents and is illustrated by the whole course of events since the seizure of power in Germany. This is another reason why the Church struggle is so inevitable and ultimate.

Thus the Party really feels itself to be a 'political Church'—the phrase, as will be seen, has official sanction. The author of the *Mythus* is in control of the schooling of the

nation in the new *Weltanschauung*; the Party members are, and must be, his disciples. In view of his official position and his task in the nation it is worse than affectation for Herr Rosenberg to say that the *Mythus* is a private, not an official, document. The Party admits of no 'private' writings that treat of the Party itself, its organization, and its *Weltanschauung*. Hence the battle for the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* inevitably involves that which to Christians must appear as a 'persecution' of the Church. For the Church is faced, not with another group within the State that takes a different view, but with a Party that claims to represent the State and has at its disposal all the concentration of power available to the modern State.

The Church must either conform to the will of the leaders of the State or be at war with them. No middle course is open. It is obvious, too, that a totalitarian State will, and must, regard the fellowship which the Church would organize within the nation as being in competition with itself and alien to the unity of the nation. Hence to the National Socialist Party the Church necessarily appears as a reactionary movement that, belonging to the confusion of philosophies that characterized the age of Liberalism, has survived inappropriately into the new age in which State, Party, and People are merged in a perfect unity. The Church, therefore, must either disappear or, like the other fellowships of social organization, be 'co-ordinated' and brought under the control of the State as represented by the Party. The following pages are but a record of this tragic and inevitable conflict between two philosophies that are finally irreconcilable.

IV

ON THE LAWS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE PRESS

BY the emergency ordinance of February 27th, 1933, following the Reichstag fire, that fundamental article of the Weimar Constitution which guaranteed the liberty of the Press was abolished.¹ Newspapers could be suppressed for longer or shorter periods or indefinitely, without right of appeal, by administrative action. The property of a publishing house could be confiscated on the allegation that it was used for Communist purposes. The High Court found² that this anti-Communist legislation could not apply to Church Presses and publications, but a series of further ordinances declared that the Government might by administrative action suppress newspapers, close publishing houses, and confiscate their property in the case of any newspaper, pamphlet, or book deemed *staatsfeindlich*, contrary to public interests, that is, contrary to the policy or wishes of the Party.³ There is no right of appeal; Party officials alone decide whether or not a publication or printing-house deserves to live. Two illustrations of the working of these regulations may suffice: in the first case, one of the best-known publishers in Germany was compelled to destroy all copies of a book by a very distinguished Catholic theologian on the ground that the publication of the book would prejudice the propaganda of the Government in connexion with the immorality trials. Second, an important Catholic missionary magazine was suppressed on the ground that it 'glorified native races'.

English-speaking peoples do not easily realize that in Germany to-day that which we should normally call the negation of law has become the 'law'. By the Empowering

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 84.

² *Vide infra*, p. 89.

³ *Die Deutsche Reichskulturkammer: Sammlung der für den Kulturstand geltenden Gesetze und Verordnungen*, edited by K. L. Schrieber (Berlin, Junker und Dunnhaupt, 1937), containing the various regulations, is a fat volume; its detail and particularity are such that it is often possible to see under the nominally general terms which journal the framer of the ordinance has in mind.

Act of March 23rd, 1933,¹ Herr Hitler has the legal power to alter or suspend certain articles of the Constitution; by a further law of 1934 he was given authority to frame new constitutional law. We should speak in this connexion of 'legal power' rather than 'legal right', for the whole conception of 'right' goes with the idea of the *Rechtsstaat* which is the opposite of arbitrary tyranny. If we ask, What is the Constitution in Germany to-day? the correct answer must be in terms of the Law for the Protection of State and People and the Empowering Acts. There is no legal appeal in Germany from the arbitrary acts of the Nazi Party.

Thus in virtue of the Empowering Acts individual ministers work out schemes for the handling of the departments committed to them. In the Propaganda Ministry, therefore, Dr. Goebbels, following closely the Italian Fascist model, has organized the Press in the interest of National Socialism. The so-called *Reichskulturkammergesetz* was passed on September 22nd, 1933.² This set up among other 'chambers' the *Reichspressekammer* and the *Reichsschrifttumskammer*, organizations to deal respectively with the Press and with publishing. The new *Schriftleitergesetz* was published on October 4th, 1933.³ Paragraph 7 of the *Reichskulturkammergesetz* gives the Minister of Propaganda power to issue ordinances and regulations for these organizations and to bring previous codes and laws into conformity with the new orders. On November 14th, 1933, Dr. Goebbels nominated Herr Max Amann head of the organization to deal with the Press:⁴ as such he was given almost dictatorial powers over the whole German Press, subject only to the approval of Dr. Goebbels himself.

Every publisher of any newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, or book must be a member of the 'Literary Chamber of the Reich' (*Reichsschrifttumskammer*); only as such may he publish. If, therefore, any publisher give offence to the Party by any publication, or show any sign of recalcitrance, he is told that he is unworthy to be a member of the 'Chamber', his mem-

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 88.

² *Das Deutsche Reich von 1918 bis heute—1933*, hrsg. von Cuno Horkenbach (Berlin, Verlag für Presse, Wirtschaft u. Politik, pp. 409 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 443 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 560.

bership is taken away, and he is ruined. Such is the stranglehold of the Party on the publishing business. Similarly the *Schriftleitergesetz* ordains that the editor of every newspaper and periodical must be a member of the appropriate 'Chamber'. This means that, at peril of the loss of his livelihood, every editor is bound to print whatever is required of him by the Propaganda Ministry and to refrain from printing anything that is not approved. The 'German News Bureau' of the Propaganda Ministry delivers to newspapers, in words from which no deviation is allowed, the information it wishes to disseminate. Certain papers began to print such information accompanied by the initials 'D.N.B.' (*Deutsches Nachrichten-Bureau*) in order to indicate its source; this was forbidden; the appearance of spontaneity must be maintained. The control of newspapers is exercised not merely through the News Bureau but also through constant talks from the officials of the Propaganda Ministry. For instance, the Propaganda Ministry will give private instructions that such and such information about an immorality case in the courts must be given in the paper, and that such and such information must be withheld. Cases before the courts may only be reported in the very words of the News Bureau. At the same time, by a grim irony, section 13 of the *Schriftleitergesetz* ordains that editors shall 'truthfully represent, and judge according to the best of their knowledge', the matters treated by them! Editors have the right of appeal to a special court¹ nominated by Dr. Goebbels,² but the efficacy of this insecure defence is wholly removed by the further provision that Dr. Goebbels is not bound by the findings of the court.³ Thus the Minister of Propaganda has an unqualified control of the national Press.

This law, however, does not apply to Church papers. These are required to deal solely with religious matters and wholly to eschew not merely politics but the affairs of this world in general. Even secular advertisements are forbidden them. Moreover, the Minister of Propaganda or his deputy is the sole judge as to whether an article in a Church paper is 'political' or not. Thus, the Concordat notwithstanding,

¹ Section 31.

² Section 32.

³ Section 35.

unnumbered Church papers have been confiscated or suppressed for printing the pastoral letters of the bishops or the encyclical of the Pope. Or, if an article deemed 'political' appear in a Church paper, the Party may require that the editor be enrolled in the 'Press Chamber'; he is then by law wholly subject to the demands that govern the secular Press. It should be remembered that in a totalitarian State everything is 'political' which the Government judges to be such, and there is no appeal. Thus, for instance, a Church paper or diocesan memorandum, as has happened in Münster, Paderborn, Emland, München-Freising, and elsewhere, may be suppressed for criticizing on religious grounds the fantasies of Herr Alfred Rosenberg! The confiscation of particular numbers, as distinct from the suppression of a paper, is at the discretion of the Political Police.

In effect, there is a whole arsenal of repressive measures at the disposal of the Party—through the Propaganda Ministry, through the President of the *Reichspressekammer*, and through the Secret Police. All these means are freely used. Editors must either reproduce the anti-Christian speeches of Dr. Goebbels and such accounts of the immorality trials as the Ministry may dictate—or lose their papers and their livelihood. If there are Christian journalists who judge that it is better to accept these terms than to hand over the Press wholly and without qualification to the heathen elements in the nation, it is not for others to judge them.¹

¹ Those who have no access to the German Nazi Press may study its style and point of view in three small books: *Manner um den Papst* (1938), reprinted from the *Angriff*; *Manner gegen Schnuffler*, by Hans-Peter Hernel (1937), reprinted from *Der S.A. Mann*—both these are issued by the Eher-Verlag in München, the official Party Press—and *Der Giftpilz, ein Sturmerbuch für Jung und Alt*, published by the Sturmer-Verlag, Nürnberg. Those who live outside Germany may find some difficulty in getting the last named, though it is described as being suitable for the young as well as the old. The revolting bestiality of *Der Sturmer* is unquestionable; the paper is regarded with shame and loathing by the educated German nation; its export abroad is forbidden; but its editor is a high official of the Party, a friend of Herr Hitler; its filthy pages and pictures are set up over the land in official, inviolable glass cases round which the children are constantly to be found; Party leaders have gone out of their way to commend the paper, and *Der Sturmer* is always available to the Hitler Youth. Readers are hardly in a position fully to understand what the suppression of the Christian Press means till they see that which has taken its place and to which no public answer is allowed.

A Christian editor seeking to conform is liable to receive a communication from the *Reichspressekammer* to this effect (I am not literally quoting, nor, on the other hand, am I in any degree exercising my imagination): 'Sir, All activity in the Press presupposes a complete and hearty acceptance of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*. Your paper does not fulfil these requirements; there is in it a striking lack of National Socialist thought. This negative attitude tends to alienate your readers from the ideas and doctrines on which the National Socialist State is built. Your paper, therefore, must cease publication.' No tangible offence is alleged, and there is no redress.

Many Catholic papers have been suppressed; others have been taken over by the Nazis with a change of editor and policy but no change of name; a large number still remain—but crippled; for they may not take any but ecclesiastical advertisements; the ordinary means of distribution through the trade are not available for them; their contents are limited to questions that are purely ecclesiastical or pious; not only must they refrain from all properly political comment, but they may not even reply to attacks made upon them by Party leaders nor to the anti-Christian propaganda of the Party. From the pulpit bishops and clergy can give to the faithful news of the persecution and answer the attacks upon the Church; they do so at the risk of prosecution under the 'Pulpit Paragraph' of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*;¹ but the Press is closed to them for all these purposes.

It is not otherwise with books. Certain books are forbidden by the Party, but much more commonly a subtler way is taken. Publishers are accustomed to receive letters from official sources asserting that some book of theirs, perhaps published long before the Revolution, contains ideas or statements damaging to the 'honour' of Germany, and asking them to show reason why they should be deemed worthy to remain as members of the 'Chamber'. The book in question, new or old, is not forbidden, but the publisher has good reason to anticipate that, if any copies of that book be provided to the book-selling trade, he will lose his membership

¹ § 130a of the Criminal Code.

of the appropriate *Reichskulturkammer*, and thus his business will be closed and he himself ruined. Those who have occasion to order books in Germany are accustomed to discover that books which have been published are mysteriously unobtainable. Even should the publisher be willing to take the risk, no bookseller would dare to stock books which in the technical term are 'undesired', that is, unacceptable to the Party.

Nominally all these restrictions, suppressions, confiscations, and limitations are 'legal', but only because the arbitrary will of the Party has been identified with law. Those who suppose that Right is related to a *lex aeterna* cannot but think of the Nazi régime as 'the negation of God erected into a system of Government'. It would, of course, be utterly unfair to suppose that the educated German nation is a consenting party to this travesty of law.

THE CONCEPT OF POSITIVE CHRISTIANITY

PPOINT XXIV of the National Socialist Party Programme runs as follows:

We demand the freedom of all religious Confessions in the State so far as they do not imperil its stability or offend against the ethical and moral sense of the German Race. The Party as such adopts the standpoint of a positive Christianity without binding itself confessionally to a particular creed. It fights against the Jewish materialistic spirit both within and without us and is persuaded that a permanent restoration of our People can only be achieved from within outwards upon the principle of Common Use before Private Use.

What, then, does this term 'positive Christianity' intend? We might reply with equal truth, either that in its context the meaning of the phrase is clear and obvious, or that it is so vague as to mean anything or nothing. As part of a political programme the phrase is reasonably clear; but National Socialism has not been content to keep to politics; it claims to be the sponsor and vindicator of a philosophy of life; when we ask what 'positive Christianity' means in the context, not of politics, but of *Weltanschauung*, the confusion seems almost unqualified.

As a political catchword the phrase should be understood in this way: Herr Hitler and his colleagues had set themselves to the political regeneration of Germany; they were not theologians and had not the slightest intention of involving themselves in theological discussions; if most of them were nominally Christians, they sat very loose to the life of the Church and the recognized obligations of Church membership; indeed, for some time before the Revolution they had as a Party stood under the ban of the Catholic Church. On the other hand, their movement on its emotional side was a fierce romanticism; they had no sympathy with the widespread atheistic propaganda of the time, which they

connected with Communism, the arch-enemy,¹ and, for them, as for most people in Europe, religion meant Christianity in some form. They were, therefore, on the side of Christianity. Moreover, as astute politicians they desired to avoid the direct antagonizing of any large section of the people unnecessarily, and they were doubtless aware that their strength would be enormously increased if they could avail themselves of the potential enthusiasms of religion. Of the antipathy of the Catholic Church as an institution they were already persuaded, but they had good hopes of Protestantism, and they might hope to become strong enough to make the Catholic Church revise its first unfavourable judgement. They declared themselves to be Christian, therefore, but to be neutral as between the various denominations of Christians.

By 'positive' Christianity they meant practical Christianity. With church-going and dogmatic theology they were wholly unconcerned; but to destroy atheist Communism, to weld together their broken nation in a fellowship of mutual service, to make the good of the community to prevail over the selfishness of the individual—this was their dream and this, surely, would be Christianity in practice. True, their dominant ideas, their idealization of the supposed Nordic race, their anti-Semitism, their cult of the military virtues, were derived from other sources than Christianity; the Christian faith played a small part, if any, in their own conscious lives; but they were quite prepared to give the Christians full freedom, and were delighted to accept their help, within the general framework of their ambitions and ideas.

So far the concept of 'positive Christianity' is intelligible and reasonably clear. If National Socialism had been content to have been a quite secular Government, the phrase would have passed muster and given rise to little question. But National Socialism is a movement militant for a new *Weltanschauung* or philosophy not derived from Christianity; it is prepared to tolerate only such Christianity as will march

¹ The atheist propaganda in Germany prior to the Revolution is discussed fully by Fr. Koch, S.J., in *Stimmen der Zeit*, Bd. cxxii, 1931/2, pp. 378 ff.

in step with the philosophy of Blood and Race and Soil. What Christianity is of this kind, and is it aptly described as 'positive'? As a political programme National Socialism has been almost from the beginning definite and unchanged. But to some considerable extent the philosophy of the movement was, at least for a time, much more fluid, obscure and vague.

The man who thinks that one can come to a religious reformation by the way of a political organization, only shows that he has no notion of the origin of religious ideas or even of credal doctrine and of their ecclesiastical development. . . . The political Leader must always keep his hands off the religious doctrines and institutions of his people; otherwise he will have to be, not a politician, but a Reformer, if he has the qualifications for it! Any other attitude would, more particularly in Germany, lead to disaster.¹

Upon this Fr. Max Pribilla very properly comments: 'In this case it would be more prudent to speak of a National Socialist conception of the State, not of a National Socialist *Weltanschauung*.'² He goes on to point out that many leading National Socialists make claims upon every sphere of life, law, art, ethics, science, the family, and the school; 'this explains the ever repeated attempts to utilize the weight of the National Socialist Movement for new religious constructions and then to represent these as the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*'. The term *Weltanschauung* is itself obscure.³ Must religion and *Weltanschauung* coalesce, or may the two be independent? Fr. Pribilla concludes:

Either one desires to impose one and the same *Weltanschauung* upon the whole German people—then it must be so constructed as to contain within it nothing contradicting the religious convictions of Catholics and Protestants; or one must contemplate the admission of different variants of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* with differing content or differing interpretations according as the edition is intended for Catholics, Protestants, Deists, Pantheists, &c. . . . Careful note must be taken of the fact that the Government by its solemn declaration of March 23rd,

¹ Herr Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, i, ch. 3.

² *Stimmen der Zeit*, Bd. cxxvi, 1933/4, p. 417.

³ *Vide supra* p. 6 note 4.

1933 has bound itself not to interfere with the rights of the two Christian denominations; it has thereby granted Catholics and Protestants the right to defend themselves against open or covert attacks on their religious creed.

Even when these words were written they were probably rather in the nature of an appeal than a claim, but it must be remembered that the National Socialist Party up till the seizure of power was almost wholly concerned with a political struggle; only after the Revolution did the predominant influence of Herr Alfred Rosenberg and Dr. Goebbels make itself decisively felt in the field of general *Weltanschauung*. The term 'positive Christianity' was in 1933 much more open to variety of interpretation than it is to-day.

Thus in January of 1934 von Papen made a speech in Silesia in which he is reported to have said that the National Socialist platform was similar to that advocated in the two famous encyclicals, *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, that Germany was the first State to break with the *laissez-faire* principles of nineteenth-century Liberalism and to adopt Catholic ethics and traditions; love of race, he said, did not mean the hatred of other races and was not inconsistent with Christian principles; the attitude of the new Government was best to be understood from the Concordat. There is no reason to suppose that von Papen was insincere in this expression of opinion. Had National Socialism been content to remain a purely political movement, his words would have contained a large measure of truth. It is, however, now absolutely certain that, whatever 'positive Christianity' means, it is not a synonym for the policy advocated in the Papal encyclicals.

But 'positive Christianity' might mean many things. It has to be constantly remembered that the majority of any nation, more particularly, perhaps, the young, to whom National Socialism chiefly appealed, is not theologically or philosophically minded. National Socialism presented itself to such as a political programme; if it appealed to them, they were not concerned about its theological or religious implications; if on the whole it seemed to them good, they would be inclined to accept the phrase 'positive Christianity' in the

terms of that which they found good. The German nation as a whole may be said to have accepted Herr Hitler's Government, but it is a very great question how far the nation has even begun to accept the *Weltanschauung* of the Party. In spite of all the propaganda concerning national unity it is likely that the German Government in proportion to the comprehensiveness of its claims is actually less representative of the nation than the Governments of democratic countries that confine themselves to politics.

In view of his position in the Party Herr Alfred Rosenberg must be considered the official interpreter of what is meant by positive Christianity. His doctrine has already been considered,¹ but a reference to the *Mythus* does not of itself answer our question. That his general exposition of the ideas of Race, Blood, and Soil corresponds with the official doctrine of the Party is not in dispute, but considerable latitude is permissible in respect of Christianity. These interpretations vary from a modified restatement of Christianity, so far as it can be restated, in terms of Blood, Race, and Soil, to an almost frank repudiation of everything Christian except the name.

We may say that from the first 'positive' has been distinguished from 'Church' Christianity. So far as the Catholic Church is concerned that is not surprising in view of the past relationship between Church and Party. Very typical of innumerable speeches was an address given on May 18th, 1935, by District Leader Councillor Weinrich at a Party meeting in Cassel:²

We see the Church conflict for what it is—a pastors' squabble. It has nothing in the world to do with religion. What they are concerned about is not the exposition of God's Word but influence and power. . . . They should leave the People alone; the People fears God but has no use for quarrelsome parsons. . . . A true National Socialist must be a Christian, he must be an active Christian. Our motto, Common Use has precedence of Private Use, is not merely parallel to, but goes beyond, the saying in the Bible, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself', for a National Socialist

¹ *Vide supra*, Ch. II.

² *Kurhessische Landeszeitung*, May 18th/19th, 1935. The speech is quoted at some length in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 554 ff.

should not only give his fellow man the equivalent of what he himself has, but he also should always think first of his fellow man. If ever we thought the clergy had understood the signs of the time and completed Luther's work, we found ourselves grievously disappointed. What we have had to put up with in recent years is not to be described in words. They have carried on like nagging old women. They have thought all the time only of themselves, of their influence, of their benefices. . . . It is all one to them if the People or religion collapse; the main thing is that they themselves last on. The Movement declines any part in this controversy. But as upright Christians we have the one wish—that Christ would come once again to earth! It would take Him months to chase each one of those Pharisees out of the Temple. The desire of these fellows is to smash up once again by their Church conflict the unity of the German People that we have won at last.

The Minister for Propaganda might be deemed an expert authority upon what is meant by 'positive Christianity'. In the official paper that he edits¹ there appeared a formal article on the proposed election in the Evangelical Church in which it was carefully pointed out that National Socialism takes the standpoint of *a* positive Christianity, not of any particular type or definition of positive Christianity. Article 24 of the Party Programme, the paper explains, does not deal with the existing Christian Church at all nor with its representatives, but simply with Christianity in general. The Party would not and could not involve itself in controversy about the Being of the Divine, about dogmas, forms, and symbols. To live, to labour, to sacrifice for the People and for Germany constituted positive Christianity in the sense of the Party Programme. This we may properly take to be an expression of Dr. Goebbels's own views. For him, as for so many in the Party, the term 'Christianity' is and must be an embarrassment, but, as long as it be understood to be a Christianity unrelated to the existing Christian Church and wholly undogmatic, and as long as its form be the service of the nation in the sense of the National Socialist Programme, there is no great cause to cavil at the name.

¹ *Unser Wille und Weg* (Monatsblätter der Reichspropagandaleitung der NSDAP)—cited in *Junge Kirche*, 1937, p. 401.

44 THE CONCEPT OF POSITIVE CHRISTIANITY

Dr. Ley, the head of the Labour Front, has expressed himself in these terms:¹

'Power through Joy' is perhaps the briefest and pithiest expression of the National Socialist desire, its *Weltanschauung*; for it expresses the affirmation of life which pulses through National Socialists in distinction from that negation of life which has oppressed Germany and the world; this denial of life was expressed in the doctrine of the original sin which man was supposed to have brought with him into the world; these poor men were no sooner born than they were burdened with sin; these poor creatures only wandered through this earthly vale of tears, as they called it, to prepare themselves for a better world beyond. My fellow Party member Frauendorfer has already explained how he apprehends the service of labour. He is entirely willing to leave toiling for the Beyond if only we can make this world fair. There can be no compromise on this matter. If I deny life, I must assert sin, and, if I assert sin, then I must repent, and if I repent, I am a menial and am inferior; that is a doctrine for the weak, the lowly, and the wretched. Over against sin we set discipline, over against penitence and its inherent inferiority pride, over against the weak the strong; and over against the gratification that satisfies only common instincts we set joy. Here we find two mutually exclusive worlds; here we find a conception which in the past dominated all parties. . . . All those who believe that this life is worth living, who believe that a Lord God has not made everything in order to bring it to nothing and give it over to destruction, all those who believe that by their life, by their toil, they have a mission to fulfil in this world—all those who are filled with this faith, are National Socialists! Our life is not a drab Garden of Eden; for us battle stands first! Life is battle, and battle is life, and so we know no terminus where some enjoy their gratifications in eternal lounging, and others are eternally damned and hence are eternally destroyed, but we know battle for all eternity as the expression of our faith and of our life. That is old Germanic thought. The hero went to Valhalla that there he might engage in a new battle. That is our faith: strength for the battle upon this earth for our People. . . . I have often been asked for the prescription; I have always answered, 'the prescription is called Adolf Hitler, and you (Catholics) all have no Adolf Hitler, you have at most little Centre Party priest-wallahs (*Zentrums-Bonzen*), and nothing else.

¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 10th, 1935.

And, if they think that they can still get in our way here and there, and dodge between our feet, we are not disturbed; every now and then one of them gets heavily trodden upon. They can no longer hold us up. A whole world separates us from them. How can you have 'Power through Joy', when constantly, daily, hourly you preach penitence, that you may be able to find a foundation for your existence! No, no, our People is a marvellous people; there is no people so easy to rule as ours. It orders itself by itself. . . . But one must bring this People no essentially strange teaching; one must know the Race of the People, one must be born of this Race and for ever bound up with this Race, then can one drive this People to the heights. 'Power through Joy' for Germany!

The agreement of this with the standpoint of Herr Rosenberg's *Mythus* is obvious; it may conceivably represent in some degree pre-Christian German thought, but it cannot represent Christianity unless the Church from the beginning has been mistaken about her faith. It must not, however, be thought from these quotations that 'positive' Christianity is a Christianity that does not use the name of Christ. Within the framework of the National Socialist philosophy of Race and Soil and Blood a place of honour may be kept for Him, more particularly as the dauntless hero in the warfare against Jewry. These words from a leading Berlin paper are very typical:¹ 'Our age can only apprehend Christ as an ethical Hero or religious Leader. . . . The responsible leaders of the State, however, ought to take as sure and decisive a part in Church questions as in political. To-day the decisive word lies with them.'

Some would argue that Christianity is the fulfilment of pre-Christian Germanism. Such is the line of Erich Vogelsang:² 'Ragnarök' is the riddle of all riddles, the most distinctive and German element of German philosophy. Christianity had been hellenized and romanized; in Luther it was germanized. But even before Luther German honour and Christian love had met in chivalry. It was characteristic

¹ Quoted by Professor Karl Heim in *Deutsche Staatsreligion oder evangelische Volkskirche* (Berlin, Furche-Verlag, 1933), p. 7.

² *Umbruch des deutschen Glaubens. Von Ragnarök zu Christus*, by Erich Vogelsang (Tübingen, Mohr, 1934).

of Luther that he could speak of 'too much humility'; honour is the keynote of his character. The Romans thought of sin and redemption in terms of satisfaction; the Germans have apprehended faith in terms of loyalty and trust. In particular, Luther stressed the honour of the State; he was a violent anti-pacifist, who taught that a soldier's death is 'honourable' and 'holy'. Thus was Christianity germanized. The Gospel comes as an answer to the life-questions of German existence, and Ragnarök finds its answer in Christ.

It may be questioned whether this offers a satisfactory apologetic for Christianity. It is more commonly maintained, in a variety of forms, that Christianity as a Biblical religion is essentially oriental, but that Christ Himself was a Nordic Hero of Nordic race, and that His teaching coalesces with the Romantic idea of pre-Christian German heathenism. Thus District Leader Julius Streicher, in his paper *Der Stürmer*, argues vehemently against the Ludendorff brand of heathenism, which takes the line that Christ was a Jew, and that Christianity is a Jewish creation.¹ *Der Stürmer* adduces as proof that Jesus Christ was an Aryan the fact that for two thousand years Christianity has prospered on Aryan soil and has produced 'one of the greatest civilizations which has ever been seen upon the earth'. This could never have happened had Christ been of 'mixed race', of 'that medley of the scum and rubbish of all the peoples', the Jewish race. He triumphed over the Jews as Adolf Hitler has triumphed over the Bolsheviks. 'The doctrine of Jesus Christ developed under the same laws as, two thousand years later, National Socialism developed.' Adolf Hitler has, however, avoided the error of allowing Jews to enter his organization.

The Christian Church of both denominations is so judaized, so filled with the Jewish spirit, that even a blind man could see its terrible signs of deterioration. The Christian Church has taken into its ranks the child of the devil, the anti-Christ, the Jew; and now the Jew is bringing about its downfall. . . . The Adolf Hitler Movement had to come. It will be given the task of driving the enemies of humanity from the Temple, from the Temple of the Fatherland and, perhaps, from the Temple of

¹ Easter number, 1938.

Creation in general. When this has come about, a decent Christianity, undefiled by Jews, will encompass, together with National Socialist doctrines, the hearts of all Germans.

There can be no doubt that the National Socialists are willing to tolerate and even commend any form of Christianity which, in their view, eschews politics, that is, which accepts the politics of the Nazis themselves. The sect or movement of the so-called 'German Christians' has attempted to combine Christianity with National Socialism and has received support and approval from Herr Hitler himself.¹ The fundamental position of this movement has been well expressed in the paper *Positives Christentum* by Gauobmann Pfarrer Schmidt-Neubabelsberg:² it stands for 'an unqualified affirmation of the world of thought of National Socialism and of the Christian inheritance that comes to us from our fathers'. Whether National Socialism and traditional Christianity can be affirmed together is a strictly theological question. With the heresies of the 'German Christians' we are only here concerned in so far as they indicate what the National Socialist Government is prepared to recognize as 'positive Christianity'.

The 'German Christians' have set forth various creeds and confessions³ which indicate differences amongst them, but for our present purpose these are not significant. The 'German Christians' are as an organized body not numerous; they are, however, of great importance in Germany because by favour of the Government their representatives have been put in control of the Evangelical Church organization. Herr Kerrl, who stands at the head of the Church Ministry for the

¹ In his speech on the Church elections, July 23rd, 1933, quoted from 'Geschichte des Glaubensbewegung' in *Der Weg der Kirche von 1932 bis 1937*, p. 10.

² *Positives Christentum*, April 11th, 1937.

³ Cf. *Die Bekenntnisse und grundsatzliche Ausserungen zur Kirchenfrage des Jahres 1933* by Kurt Dietrich Schmidt (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1934). The 'German Christian' attitude to the Bible may be conveniently studied in such books as *Deutsche Gottesworte*, a paraphrase or up-to-date edition of the Sermon on the Mount by Reichsbischof Müller (Weimar, Verlag Deutscher Christen, 1936); *Gottheder für deutsche Menschen*, being a selection and treatment of the psalms by Wilhelm Teudt (Leipzig, Kohler und Amelang, 1935); and *Das Evangelium Johannes deutsch* (Bremen, Verlag Hauschild, 1936).

whole Reich, is a typical 'German Christian', whether or not he be formally enrolled in their membership.

The favoured 'German Christian' position may be thus summarized:

(a) The German Christians do not, at least in intention, question or repudiate the Christian faith. They assent to the ancient creeds of the Church and the Confessions of the Reformation, though they regard these in language and substance as having little relevance for the present day. They represent themselves as good Lutherans.

(b) In regard to the Old Testament they say:¹ 'The Old Testament is of value to our faith in so far as it affords us understanding of our Saviour's life, Cross, and Resurrection.'

(c) With regard to the Jewish question, the acceptance of 'the Aryan Paragraph' is 'self-evident', for 'Christ is not the offspring and fulfiller of Judaism, but its deadly enemy and conqueror'.²

(d) The distinctive element in the teaching of the 'German Christians' is their attitude to the myth of Blood and Race, to the National Socialist philosophy in general, and to the person of Herr Hitler. It is their view that these new conceptions are not in any way at variance with the essence of the Christian faith, and, indeed, that they constitute a rediscovery or new revelation of the meaning of the Gospel.

By the Creation of God [they say] we are made members of the blood-fellowship and destiny-fellowship of the German People, and as those who bear this destiny we are responsible for the future of this fellowship. Germany is our task; Christ is our strength. . . . For our people, as for every people, the eternal God has fashioned a peculiar law. It took form in the Leader, Adolf Hitler, and in the National Socialist State constructed by him. This law speaks to us in the history of our People which grew out of Blood and Soil. Loyalty to this law requires of us warfare for Honour and Freedom. The way to the fulfilment of the German law is the believing German community. In it rules Christ, the Lord, as grace and forgiveness. In it burns the

¹ *Richtlinien der Kirchenbewegung Deutsche Christen in Thüringen*, December 11th, 1933, cited in K. D. Schmidt, *Die Bekenntnisse des Jahres 1933* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1934), p. 102.

² Official statement, Weimar, July 1937 (*Junge Kirche*, August 21st, 1937).

fire of holy willingness to sacrifice. In it alone the Saviour meets the German People and gives them the power of faith. From this community of German Christians in the National Socialist State of Adolf Hitler must the 'German National Church' arise to embrace the whole People. One People . . . one God . . . one Reich . . . one Church.¹

The 'German Christians' (the *Nationalkirchliche Bewegung*) brought out a new programme in July 1937 in Weimar. They aim, they say, at the religious renewal and unity of the German People. They regard all religious divisions of the People into Romans, Reformed, Lutherans, &c., as opposed to the creative will of God that the People should be one. Hence they aim at the overcoming of the different denominations by their battle-cry, 'One People, one Faith'. They aim, further, at the rejection of all Church teaching and organization which is Jewish or un-German. They are the heirs of those condemned as heretics who through a thousand years have struggled for a free German Christianity. They commit themselves to follow without qualification the Führer and the Reich (*in bedingungsloser Gefolgschaft*); they profess without qualification their adherence to the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* and to the totality of German life which is required by National Socialism. They repudiate the idea of any political or legal separation of Church from State. All the affairs of the Church are to be subject to the organization of the People. They accept both the Aryan paragraph and the oath of unqualified obedience to Herr Hitler. Finally, 'the National Church is the fulfilment of the eternal longing of the German People'.

In this summary I have carefully avoided quoting some of the wilder, if also properly official, utterances of such as Reichsbischof Müller, and have represented 'German Christianity' in its soberer form. The theological principle at stake has been indicated with great clarity by Dr. J. B. Schairer in his book, *Volk, Blut, Gott*.² Rejecting the view that because the Christian faith has been tied to the Old Testament and the apostle Paul it must therefore be rejected as un-German,

¹ *Richtlinien der Kirchenbewegung Deutsche Christen in Thüringen*, December 11th, 1933, cited above.

² Berlin, Martin Warneck Verlag, 1933.

he argues that Germans must 'test the spirits' and produce a theology that is truly German. For this purpose it is necessary clearly to define the fundamental essence of the German spirit (*urdeutsches Wesen*); with that in mind the Christian inheritance may be fearlessly approached.¹ This means, in effect, that the new theologian is to start, not from the revelation of God in Scripture, but from the demands of Race, Blood, and Soil, taking over from Christianity that which can be made to fit in with these demands and rejecting the rest as Jewish or un-German.

I have dealt elsewhere with the theological implications of the 'German Christian' position, indicating that in principle, though not in form, it represents the standpoint of Liberalism or Modernism in other lands.² To such a reconstruction the Catholic and Evangelical Churches alike stand in irreconcilable opposition; for them the final authority is the Word of God made manifest in Christ and mediated through the Church; this is not an authority which can be interpreted by, or subjected to, the demands of Race and Blood and Soil.

It is quite certain that a conception of Christianity as resting upon a final apostolic Gospel and relevant to the conduct of men in this world and their ideas about it is not contemplated in the term 'positive Christianity'. There is in principle no difference between the 'German Christians' and Herr Rosenberg on the one side, and Herr Rosenberg and Dr. Ley on the other. The term 'positive Christianity' may be made to cover heathenism but not the Church's historic faith.

On the other side, it will be argued with some appearance of reason that certain sects such as the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Salvation Army have been allowed to carry on their work without interference, and that they have been subjected to no tiresome disabilities by the new régime.

It is true that no complaints of interference are heard from these bodies, and that the status of the Methodists has actually been improved under the Nazis. But two important

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

² *Christendom* (Chicago), 1938, vol. iii, No. 2, pp. 250 ff.; *The International Review of Missions*, July 1938, pp. 324 ff.

considerations must be borne in mind. First, these bodies are within Germany numerically insignificant; they number among their members few persons of education or standing in the country; their influence upon German public opinion is negligible; but they have very important international connexions. Particularly in America the Baptists and the Methodists are very strong. The German Government is not wholly impervious to foreign opinion. It has been a great asset to the Government in its attacks upon the Catholic and Evangelical Churches that abroad it could point to the German Methodists and Baptists as untroubled, and hence argue that the greater Churches are persecuted on political, not religious, grounds. Any slight inconveniences at home have been more than compensated by the well-used propaganda-value of these sects. Second, the German Baptists and Methodists, if not members of the Party, are in much political sympathy with the Government, in so far as they have political views at all. But, so far as their religion is concerned, they are almost wholly uninterested in politics. They are fervid, simple, evangelical, Biblicist Christians, whose pietism, deep and sincere, centres round the experience of divine grace in the individual life and the hopes of the world to come. Theirs is *Religion* without *Weltanschauung*, an esoteric piety and other-worldly religion. They might as individuals disapprove of much that happens in present-day Germany, but as organized bodies they offer no challenge and no danger to the Government. They have been more fortunate than the pathetic sect of 'Earnest Bible Students'; these strange millenarians, men of much integrity, zeal, and narrowness, whose education is very slight, have been ruthlessly and most cruelly persecuted by the State.¹ Any sect which shows pacifist sympathies or principles is at once regarded as beyond the tolerance of the State, and there is not the slightest doubt that, did the Methodists or Baptists at any point feel led to rebuke or question the Government in

¹ The appalling sufferings of this sect have been recounted in *Kreuzzug gegen das Christentum* by Franz Zurcher (Zurich, Europa Verlag, 1938). It is an almost unreadable book. It recounts facts, not 'atrocious stories', but it illustrates the observation quoted in Germany that the French for *Greuelmärchen* is *la vérité*.

the name of their religion, the police would ruthlessly intervene at once.¹

It must be admitted, therefore, that the preaching of a strictly personal 'evangelical' Christian piety is freely permitted in Germany to-day provided that it do not trench upon public life. But this indubitable fact throws no light upon the concept of 'positive Christianity'; for this sect-type of religion, gathering round the idea of personal redemption through the crucified Redeemer, and regarding this world as that which the Christian must deny, falls by its very essence into the category of 'negative Christianity' as defined by those who have officially expounded what is meant by 'positive'.

The conclusion of the whole matter is reasonably clear. First, 'positive' Christianity means practical Christianity in the form of Winter Help Work and that organization of the nation for mutual service which the Nazis have adopted.² Second, the term 'positive' has no proper theological content; it indicates merely a positive attitude to National Socialism. Any type of religion that is prepared to affirm without qualification the ideals and principles of National Socialism is positive; any aspects of it which are unrelated to the dominant concepts of Race, Blood, and Soil are negative, and if any of these negative aspects should lead to questioning of the Nazi *Weltanschauung* in respect of idea or practice in the name of religion, that type of religion is *eo ipso* political and beyond the bounds of toleration.

¹ It was reported to me from Berlin early in 1939 that the Government was requiring the Methodist Church and the Salvation Army to dismiss all members not fully Aryan. I have no official confirmation of this, but such a demand is intrinsically probable and would present these bodies with a critical decision.

² The Winter Help Work, which is often represented as genuine Christianity in distinction from the theological and ecclesiastical variety offered in the Churches, is an institution that since 1930 was managed and sustained by the Christian charitable organizations with the Red Cross as part of their Welfare Work till it was taken over by the Nazis. In one year before the Revolution over 100 million marks were raised for this purpose by entirely voluntary gifts. The Nazis took over for the first few years as their organizer for this purpose a distinguished Churchman who had been responsible for much of the work before the Revolution. He was dismissed in 1936 or 1937. Other Nazi social work, as for instance 'Mother and Child', was adopted and taken over from the great Catholic organization *Caritas*.

VI

'POLITICAL CATHOLICISM'

WITH Catholicism as such National Socialism declares itself to have no quarrel, but 'political Catholicism' it will not tolerate. The Church struggle, therefore, is concerned with a political, not a religious, issue. The Church is persecuted, if persecution be the right term, not as representing the Christian religion but as a political Opposition.

This point is made with wearisome iteration. It is true as the terms 'politics' and 'religion' are defined by the Nazis; it is false according to the general acceptance of the terms.

The case against the Church as 'political' has been authoritatively set forth by Herr Victor Lutze, who under Herr Hitler is Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops. His argument may be summarized thus:¹ The totalitarian claims of the National Socialist philosophy cover the life of every individual and will brook no opposition. We have no time to be reformers of religion or of the Church. It is nonsense that we want to introduce a new heathenism. Suggestions of that kind are simply a cloak under which Centre Party politics may advance against the National Socialist philosophy. The hypocrisy can be seen from this, that, whereas the Catholic District Leader Gemeinder was buried without a priest, and German mothers have been refused Communion simply because their sons belonged to the Storm Troops, yet the mass-murderer Kürten lacked neither Communion nor burial. Where would the Churches be to-day but for Adolf Hitler and National Socialism? It is we who have rolled back the tide of atheist Communism; the Churches, therefore, have no right to sabotage our work. Is it to be taken amiss that we have no understanding for priests who in forgetfulness of their duty offer prayers for those accused under the Currency Laws?

We Nationalist Socialists do not mix in Church affairs, and we will not have the Churches mixing in ours. Our kingdom is of this world. We are therefore concerned with

¹ *Reden an die S.A.* (Munchen, Eher-Verlag, 1936).

everything that affects the German in this world. Ideas about another world are a man's private affair. In our State, according to the principle of the great Prussian king, every man may find blessedness in any way he pleases. In the field of religion the Churches have unqualified freedom. Our faith as National Socialists is in the eternity of the German People, in the right of the idea, and the rightfulness of the mission, of the Führer. It is our faith that has made it possible for faith in the Almighty to be taught in Germany to-day.

A people of such faith as is the German people to-day is not often to be found in world-history. We believe in the right of the Idea. We believe in the correspondence of our will with law (*die Gesetzmässigkeit unseres Wollens*). We believe in the rightness of our philosophy. We believe in the Führer, Adolf Hitler. We believe in the German People's eternity, determined in accordance with Race, and in a Reich of a thousand years. We believe in our God who hitherto has visibly blessed our work, and we hope and know that He will also bless it in the future, if we all do our duty.

On Christian grounds we claim to be supported.

Brutal force, he continues, has been used, and will be used again, against our opponents. The totalitarian claim of our Movement knows no compromise in this matter. Such a goal as ours requires an unbending attitude and rigour. The Church has no right to protest against the Sterilization Laws, because for the upholding of the people the State, not the Church, is responsible. It is the State that has the right to the political education of youth. Both Church and State have their rights. We must have liberty to impregnate youth with the original German faith in the unqualified purity of our Race, with the faith in German Blood and German Soil, for our national life depends upon this. Prior to our assumption of power we have not always laboured with weapons suitable to the drawing-room; we had to let terror break out with brutal force and clenched fist; but we hated it. 'Terror could only be broken with terror. With prayers and pious songs nothing could well have been attained.' To our last breath we will vindicate the totalitarian claims of our philosophy.

Such, authoritatively put, is the case of the Party against

the Church.¹ As in so much of National Socialist literature there is an engaging frankness. Herr Lutze says clearly what National Socialists are bound to say. It is no doubt to many a genuine cause of astonishment that the Christian Church, offered such generous and unqualified freedom in its own sphere, is still discontented.

In this matter of 'politics' the records of the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church are very different. The Centre Party did not consist entirely of Catholics, yet in general terms it would be fair to say that it represented the Catholic Church in the field of politics. The Centre Party had accepted the Versailles Treaty, had been willing to co-operate with the Social Democrats, and been a dominant factor in German life for some years before the Revolution. More particularly, the Bavarian People's Party in the south stood in a very intimate relation to the Church. Up till the Revolution any Catholics who joined the Nazis risked the severe disfavour of the Church. The Evangelical Church, on the other side, inherits a tradition of strict Erastianism and political submission. The Lutheran leaders tended to be extremely conservative; Dr. Martin Niemöller was at one time a member of the Nazi Party, and his Church on the whole welcomed the Revolution.² German Evangelical Lutheranism might reasonably be regarded as the most unpolitical Church in Christendom. It is, therefore, of real significance in the present case that the Evangelical Church, no less than the Catholic Church, is accused of using the pulpit for political purposes. Any questioning of the National Socialist philosophy is deemed 'political', and is in fact political from the National Socialist point of view.

The Centre Party dissolved itself under pressure in 1933, but the Nazi Party claims that the 'old firm' is still operating under a new name, and that, in particular, Catholic Action is simply the Centre Party in another form. Up to a point

¹ Other pamphlets on the same subject add nothing material; e.g. G. Ohlemüller, *Politischer Katholizismus* (Verlag des Evangelischen Bundes, 1936); J. Stark, *Zentrumsherrschaft und Jesuitenpolitik* (Eher-Verlag, 1932).

² 'The Church had almost unanimously welcomed the Hitler régime with real confidence, indeed, with the highest hopes.'—Professor Karl Barth in *Cross and Swastika* (London, Student Christian Movement Press, 1938), p. 15.

the charge is true. 'The ideal of Catholic Action is the de-politicizing of the Church, but at the same time the catholicizing of politics.' This Movement represents a lay apostolate which attempts in harmony with the government of the Church to bring the Church's influence to bear upon every aspect of public life. 'We have repeatedly and solemnly affirmed and protested', said Pius XI in his encyclical, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, 'that Catholic Action, both from its very nature and essence ("the participation and the collaboration of the laity with the Apostolic Hierarchy") and by Our precise and categorical directions and orders is outside and above all party politics.' The task of Catholic Action is 'the truly apostolic labour for Christ's Person, cause and religion, for the upholding and achievement of the royal lordship of Christ in the world in every sphere'.¹ It is, as the organization of Catholic Action in Italy shortly and soberly puts it, 'the gathering together of Catholic forces for the preservation, propagation, achievement and vindication of Catholic principles in personal, family and social life'.²

This Movement is certainly not a political party, but it is as much concerned with politics or political life as are, for instance, the 'Life and Work' committees of the various denominations of non-Roman Christianity. The aim of Catholic Action is to christianize public life. This means a direct challenge to the National Socialist Party that avowedly does not set out to christianize public life and has decided that the Church must have nothing to do with this world's affairs. Catholic Action has nothing to do, as such, with party politics; it is, however, concerned in the widest sense with politics. The Christian Church can no more abrogate its claim and duty to 'bring all things into subjection to Christ' than the National Socialist Party can tolerate such a claim. The impasse is complete.

¹ Quoted from Dr. Anton Worlitschek in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, February 1938, p. 100. Cf. Archbishop Groeber's *Handbuch der religiösen Gegenwartsfragen* under 'Katholische Aktion' (Freiburg, Herder, 1937).

² But this must be understood in terms not merely, as with the Lutherans, of personal piety but also of a universal moral law and of 'natural rights'. It is here that the clash with the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* arises; *vide* H. Rommen, *Die Ewige Wiederkehr des Naturrechts* (Leipzig, Hegner, 1936).

At the end of 1933 Herr Hitler wrote to Herr Rosenberg: 'My dear Party-member Rosenberg, one of the first presuppositions for the triumph of the National Socialist Movement was the spiritual destruction of the hostile worlds of thought that stand opposed to us.'¹ The Catholic Church is not in political opposition to Herr Hitler in the sense of objecting to the National Socialist reorganization of society; the issue concerns spiritual and philosophical principles, not practical politics. 'Catholic Action is a lay movement to win public life for Christ the King and for His Kingdom.' The aims of National Socialism in the same field are different.

But the familiar charge of 'Rome's common front via Canterbury with Moscow'² is nonsense. Pope Pius XI's hatred of Communism was notorious, and when Herr Lutze in the conclusion of his treatise wishes to clinch his argument by illustrations of 'political Catholicism' in action, he is reduced to a number of instances which are in this connexion puerile and offer not the vestige of proof of the organization of any political activity whatsoever. That here and there groups of boys have got out of hand, or that here and there a priest has had the audacity to tear down a placard denouncing 'political Catholicism', is as credible as inconsiderable. There is not, and there never has been, any evidence that the Catholic Church is organizing any kind of political opposition. Had there been such activity, we should have been told of it. When we ask for evidence, we are almost invariably given a catalogue of the crimes of the Centre Party as judged by their opponents.

This much, however, may be said upon the other side: though it would be quite inaccurate to identify the Catholic Church with the Centre Party, a very large number of leading Catholics supported that party and its policy. It stands to reason that the members of the Centre Party, who in 1933 won 73 seats in the Reichstag, like the Social Democrats who won 120 and the Communists who won 81, did not suddenly as the result of the turn of the political wheel adopt the principles and admire the practices of their rival, the National

¹ Quoted in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, July 1938, p. 654.

² Cf. *id.*, September 1937.

Socialist Party. Quite certainly there is much political disaffection in Germany. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this is in any way confined to those who have democratic sympathies, or that it is organized. Men of the old *Stahlhelm* and members of the old *Deutsch-National-Partei* are often in opposition on grounds of national dignity and of the country's cultural inheritance. The persecution of the Church, of Jewry, of science is a contradiction of all the great traditions of Germany. It is not the Christians, Jews, half-Aryans, and Communists alone who suffer in Germany, but all those of spiritual and aesthetic sensibilities who, to take but one instance, must endure to see the infamous *Stürmer* placarded in official show-cases all over the land of Goethe and of Bach. The Nazis demand of all citizens that they not merely accept their dominance but approve also their philosophy. Nearly all overt opposition has been silenced; only the Church has not been silenced. On ethical issues and where Christian faith has been challenged the Church has spoken. If this is to interfere in politics, then the Catholic Church (and even the Evangelical Church) has proved itself 'political'.

The old members of the Centre Party may well be politically unhappy under the new régime, but the Catholic Church as an ecclesiastical institution, being authoritarian in principle, and able to co-operate with Fascism in Italy and elsewhere, and maintaining, as in *Quadragesimo Anno*, a theory of government not incompatible with certain aspects of National Socialist politics, might appear in much greater natural sympathy with the political life of Germany than of France or of the United States.¹ The case is put very fairly and accurately by Karl Rosenfelder: 'First,' he says, 'the Roman

¹ It must be remembered that the Church is not wholly of one mind in this matter. There is a very influential circle at the Vatican, represented by Archbishop Pizzardo and several Cardinals, that is strongly pro-Fascist in sympathy. Pope Pius XI himself was much more hesitant. The famous encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* was conceived in Germany and edited in Italy. It contains a section (pp. 43 ff. of the English translation) strongly critical of Fascism, and, in general, it is not regarded by German Catholics as a refutation of democracy: vide *Die soziale Enzyklika*, by O. V. Nell-Breuning, S.J. (Köln, Katholischer Tat-Verlag, 1932); *The Guild Social Order* (London, Catholic Social Guild, 1936); *Pope Pius XI and Social Reconstruction*, by L. Watt, S.J. (Oxford, Catholic Social Guild, 1937).

Church in no way adopts a hostile attitude to present-day Germany as a new political power and order. . . . But when a political movement is simultaneously the sponsor (*Trägerin*) of a *Weltanschauung*, as is the case with National Socialism, then the Roman Church marches out to battle.¹ In the National Socialist sense, however, as Wilhelm Brachmann explains,² the word *Politik* means *totale Deutschheit*; that is, politics covers all that is German. Hence the intrusion of National Socialism into the fields of painting, music, sport, and letters is entirely logical. On such a definition of politics no Christian Church can be unpolitical.

Politics, then, is a term that even by National Socialists can be used in the old and narrower or new and all-comprehensive sense. The charge against the Church is thus true in one sense and false in the other. But, while the charge against the Church is true in one sense, it is constantly laid in the other. One day in April of 1937 the *Völkischer Beobachter* came out with enormous headlines, underscored in red, proclaiming the 'Catholic-Communist Front', and a number of priests received long sentences in the courts on the charge of high treason for being in touch with Communists.³ In view of the attitude of the Vatican to Com-

¹ *Romkirchliche Einkreisungspolitik*, by Karl Rosenfelder (in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, January 1938, pp. 17 ff.).

² *Alfred Rosenberg und seine Gegner*, ii, by Wilhelm Brachmann (in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, February 1938, p. 139).

³ From *The Times*, April 29th, 1937:

After a trial lasting three weeks judgement was given in the People's Court to-day on seven Roman Catholics, including three priests, charged with 'preparing high treason'. Fr. Joseph Rossaint and two laymen, Franz Steber and Herrmann Julich, were found Guilty and sentenced to eleven, five and two years' penal servitude respectively. Fr. Karl Kremer, found Guilty of being an accessory, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. . . . From a statement issued by the court justifying the verdicts and sentences it appears that the chief act of 'high treason' was the association of the convicted men with Communists. The case of Fr. Rossaint was aggravated by his being a pacifist and a member of the Roman Catholic Peace League. . . . Julich, the court held, had given Fr. Rossaint Communist leaflets, had sheltered a Communist who was being sought by the police, and had given another fugitive Communist financial assistance, thus enabling him to leave the country. Fr. Kremer had been chairman of a meeting at which a Communist had spoken, and it had not been proved that he was ignorant of the speaker's party associations. He had also taken part in another private meeting at which a Communist had spoken, and 'had there

munism and the frank materialism of Marxist philosophy the suggestion of a Catholic-Communist Front was on the face of it ridiculous. A certain number of priests, not as political agitators but in the exercise of their pastoral office, were in touch with Communists. Upon this a charge of politics and treason could be laid. Again, it is constantly suggested with very wearying iteration that the opposition of the Church to the *Mythus* of Herr Rosenberg is simply an underhand machination of the Centre Party to upset the régime.¹ The charge of 'political Catholicism' is almost invariably untrue in the sense in which it is popularly used in the speeches of Party leaders and in the Press. It is entirely possible that, were political parties to be permitted in Germany, and were a free election to be held, very large numbers of the Catholics would vote against the Nazi Party; but there is no evidence whatever to show that the Catholic Church as a body ecclesiastic, either as a whole or through its organizations, has been fomenting political dissension in the nation or usurping the office of a political Opposition. A Church that can march with Signor Mussolini and approve the Japanese Government as a bulwark against Bolshevism² could very easily and quickly come to terms with Herr Hitler if the question at issue were a matter of politics and not of *Weltanschauung*.

From a theological or philosophical aspect the matter is acutely discussed in an article in *Weltanschauung und Schule* by Hans Karl Leistritz.³ 'We respect the Church', he says, 'as a religious institution; we resist the politicizing Church; we resist an intellectual speculation used for political purposes under cover of faith.' The root of the offence is the

by made himself guilty of being an accessory to the preparation of high treason'.

In the spring of 1938 there was a violent outburst in the German Press against Cardinal Verdier of Paris, whom the Communists invited to collaboration in the 'ideology' of the *Front Populaire*. This was represented as a matter of political co-operation. The attitude of Cardinal Verdier and of the German priests accused of Communist sympathies is expressed in the famous phrase of St. Augustine—*pugnare errorem et amare errantes*; vide *The Times*, May 3rd, 1938.

¹ e.g. in *Wille und Macht*, November 15th, 1935.

² Vide the curious announcement from the Vatican City published in the *Daily Telegraph* of October 16th, 1937.

³ March 1937, pp. 286 ff.

fundamental speculative conception 'of the *lex aeterna* of the "transcendent" God'. The introduction of the 'transcendent' is the 'speculative trick which enables ecclesiastical interference in politics to present itself as a necessity'. With the notion of the 'transcendent' God comes the politicizing priest.

Early Church Fathers, he continues, identified the *lex naturae* of the Stoics with the Ten Commandments. Hence the *lex naturae* became *lex aeterna*. Who is to decide what human regulation corresponds with the *lex aeterna*? Obviously the priest. Hence the claim of the priest to dominate politics. St. Augustine is, not very accurately, regarded by the writer as the author of this identification. 'We see the difference: the Stoa still thought of God as in the midst of all reality—Augustine altered the juristic teaching based on that idea by taking God out of the midst of all reality and making Him transcendent.' This we must clearly grasp. 'Whoever allows transcendence into his political discussion is already defeated, for the man who gives political recognition to the "gulf" between this world and the transcendent recognizes the necessity for the priest's approval of the political (and then absolutely of this world's) laws and makes political action possible for the priest.' We must never allow ourselves to be robbed of our fundamental conviction that 'the People carries its own justification in its own innermost, which we call the living blood-stream', and hence it needs no confirmation from without.

Here the writer comes near to the heart of the matter. National Socialism as a philosophy or religion is a pure Immanentism; it recognizes no God outside, or other than, its own inner demands and wishes. The Church claims to speak to the nation in the name of the transcendent God whose law is eternal, above all nations, and part of the structure of the universe. The claim of the Church can only be rebutted by the repudiation of the transcendent in religion. This is one of the many points of agreement between the National Socialist régime and the Soviet Government. To both, prophetic religion is intolerable; there must be no contrary voice from heaven or on earth.

VII THE CONCORDAT

Historia concordatorum, historia dolorum ecclesiae

THE Concordat, issued in proper form on July 8th, 1933, was solemnly signed on July 20th and ratified on September 10th.¹ It is a proper treaty, *contractus synallagmaticus de iure gentium*. This, in itself, raises two difficult questions.

First, to what extent should the Third Reich regard itself as bound by this or any other treaty? There is probably no nation with a spotless record in respect of the keeping of treaties, but the avowed National Socialist *Weltanschauung* introduces a new complication. It is a point of *honour* (not invariably observed) amongst civilized nations in the West hitherto that they should keep their pledged word, 'though it be to their own hurt'. Indeed, the keeping of one's word is one of the most distinctive marks and illustrations of honour. This term 'honour' runs like a refrain through all the official speeches in the new Germany, but the meaning of the term is not exactly identical with its common usage. According to the National Socialist conception the 'honour' of Germany would appear to be more particularly expressed in the refusal to brook any limitation upon the national destiny as Germans read their destiny.

For, second, it is with National Socialism a cardinal principle that the State is the source of all law and all right. It repudiates, as its treatment of the Jews amply indicates, a *lex naturae*, a *ius gentium*, a law to which nations themselves must submit, or universal moral principles to which they owe allegiance. Right is that which the State wills, for the State

¹ It is published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of September 10th, 1933, vol. xxv, No. 14, pp. 389-414, and in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* of September 18th, 1933, Part II, No. 38, pp. 679-90. It is published in a convenient form, together with the other German Concordats except the Austrian, by Dr. Joseph Wenner, *Reichskonkordat und Länderkonkordate* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1937), and is available in an English translation in Dr. A. S. Duncan-Jones's *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany* (London, Gollancz, 1938), pp. 277 ff., and in Dr. Adolf Keller's *Religion and the European Mind* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1934), pp. 184 ff.

expresses the demands of Race, Blood, and Soil which for each people constitute the only final and absolute authority.¹ The Church, as has been made abundantly plain, is an institution which will be tolerated in the State but strictly in a subordinate capacity and subject to the State itself. Strict National Socialist theory cannot contemplate the Roman Catholic Church, existing in Germany and beyond, as a body with which it can enter into a contract as between independent equals.

It should be remembered that at the time of the Revolution the Catholic Church as a whole had not realized what National Socialism really means, and that the National Socialists had only a lay and rough-and-ready idea of the philosophy of the Catholic Church. Christians like von Papen genuinely hoped that the two parties might cooperate in amity. Both sides are now disillusioned. A strong case might be made for the view that the signing of the Concordat was a mistake from both sides. The German Government feels that it has been compelled to break its word; the Church has been basing its claims and complaints upon principles never really granted by the other side.

It will suffice if I call attention to important elements in the Concordat with brief comments.

Under Article I the Church is guaranteed 'freedom of faith and of the public exercise of the Catholic religion'. The State would maintain that this Article has been strictly

¹ It is part of the confusion or, as some might say, the hypocrisy of the situation that the Nazis use the term *Naturrecht*. They do not mean by it, however, the right of man as man, but the right of man as German; the *lex naturae* is the primacy of the Nordic Race. Similarly their new conception of *ius gentium* implies a new system of international law based on the principle of the Nordic Race. Thus all international contracts alter their meaning. Pope Pius XII and other statesmen round about Germany have not understood this. Pope Pius XII thought that the Concordat would mean what the words would have meant had the Concordat been made with some other European nation. How far there was *mala fides* on the part of the German Government we cannot say; certainly there was none on von Papen's part. The *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 22nd, 1937, in an article to which reference is made below, claimed that the Concordat must be reconsidered because every contract stands under the rule of the *clausula rebus sic stantibus*; it must be replied that the validity of this *clausula* presupposes that neither party acting *mala fide* alters the conditions which existed when the contract was made.

kept. Germans are permitted to be members of the Catholic Church and to attend the services of the Church. This is substantially, if not quite without qualification, true. On the other hand, the Church would understand by 'the public exercise of the Catholic religion' the right to educate her children, 'liberty of prophesying', and the right to influence public life in accordance with Christian principles. Such freedom is inconsistent with the totalitarian claims of National Socialism.

It was agreed by Article III that a Papal Nuncio should be appointed to Germany and a German ambassador to the Vatican. I cannot express an opinion as to whether the existence of a Papal Nuncio in Berlin has, on the whole, strengthened or weakened the position of the German bishops in their dealings with the Government and the Vatican. But certainly the German Government has regarded the Nuncio as the representative of a foreign power; if, therefore, a German Catholic, such as Monsignor Banasch, should discuss with the Nuncio the inner situation of the Church in Germany, he would be in danger of a charge that he was betraying secrets to a foreign power and, as such, guilty of treasonable conduct.

Article IV expressly guarantees the freedom of the Pope and the bishops to communicate with the faithful and to publish such documents as the episcopal pastoral letters. This Article has been openly broken by the State. The plea that the Pope and bishops have trenched upon 'politics' has no basis in fact unless 'politics' be stretched to include all comment whatsoever upon public affairs.

Under Article V the clergy are required to serve the Protection of the State in the same way as public officials; in return they are guaranteed protection from insult or interference. This Article, too, has been constantly violated by the State.¹ It would be argued on the other side, that in their refusal to accept the National Socialist philosophy, the

¹ It is well known that the German bishops have appealed to the Attorney General under this Article to take action on their behalf when they have, as bishops, been publicly defamed. The Attorney General has always refused to act.

clergy have endangered the State where they were bound by their promise to protect it. This counter-argument may seem childish, but perhaps the Church is to be blamed for not seeing in advance that the phrases would be so interpreted by the other party.

Article IX guarantees the demand of the Church for the secrecy of the Confessional. Not only has this clause been denounced in the controlled Press, but the Secret Police of Herr Himmler have claimed that it applies only to the ordinary courts, not to themselves when they demand secret information.

Article XIII declares that Catholic parishes, parish-unions, diocesan associations with their institutions and foundations and their properties may remain or become public corporations. This Article must be understood to refer not to the great lay associations, which are dealt with under Article XXXI, but to the Church's organization as it falls under Canon Law. The Article plainly contemplates the continued legal position and integrity of the Church's ecclesiastical organization in Germany. But in fact the Article has been rendered nugatory by a series of devices. Thus, for instance, the consent of the police is required for the building of new churches or the purchase of land for this purpose or for the levy of loans of more than 5,000 marks by a parish or union of parishes; in almost all cases police permission is refused.

Article XIV limits the active clergy to German citizens. The State claims the right of veto on general political grounds in the case of episcopal appointments. As the experience of the diocese of Aachen indicates, the State may veto candidate after candidate. Since there is no definition of 'politics' and the Nazis have given an almost all-comprehensive scope to the word, this Article might prove exceedingly embarrassing to the Church.

Article XV guarantees the religious orders and associations from limitations in their pastoral, educational, and charitable work. Under all these heads the orders and associations have in fact been hindered or rendered impotent.

Article XVI gives the oath required of bishops. It is a general oath of loyalty which bishops can take without scruple of conscience.

Article XVII confirms the principle that 'the property and other rights of public corporations, of institutions, foundations and associations of the Catholic Church are guaranteed in their possessions according to the common laws of the realm (*nach Massgabe der allgemeinen Staatsgesetze*)'. This last phrase takes us to the heart of the difficulty. The phrase 'the common laws of the land' presupposes a constitutional Government, a *Rechtsstaat*; it presupposes that the organs of the State are themselves subject to these common laws, and that the constitution does not give the legislative authority power to make arbitrary exceptions. The phrase has no meaning in Germany to-day, because all the fundamental rights that give to the phrase its real basis and background are abolished when arbitrary ministerial ordinances can set aside the common laws. For instance, if in England a publisher should produce a piece of obscene literature, the police can take action under the law; but they certainly cannot close the publisher's business and confiscate all his property. Precisely this, however, is in Germany the fate of a publisher who shall have issued the Pope's encyclical. The action taken by the police in Germany is legal because the Empowering Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*) of March 23rd, 1933, legalizes any action of the Government whatsoever. Under these circumstances the phrase 'the common laws of the realm' obviously has no meaning. In effect, this guarantee actually indicates a status of disadvantage. Thus to Party organizations all manner of privileges are given, other organizations are ruled by the common laws; the Winter Help Work of the Party is free from the burden of taxation and from limitations in the matter of making public collections; Church charitable institutions must pay taxes and be allowed, perhaps, but one day in the year for a public appeal. If money is left to a State charity under a will, the beneficiaries may hope to receive it all; if money be left to a Church charity, the testator's intention is likely to be set aside by the courts—'under the common laws of the

realm'.¹ This phrase then presupposes a *Rechtsstaat*; it has no meaning in a totalitarian State which recognizes no difference between law in the sense of *norma generalis* and the arbitrary decisions of autocratic ministers.

Article XVIII agrees that, should the State wish to alter any of its obligations, (a) this should be done by mutual agreement, (b) 'traditional rights are to be regarded as titles in law', and (c) compensation shall be offered. This Article has rarely been observed.

According to Article XXI religious education in the Catholic schools is to be given according to the principles of the Catholic Church. Religious instruction is to include the inculcating of 'patriotic, civic and social duty in the spirit of the Christian law of faith and morals'. The Article may be said to be violated when the Catholic schools are suppressed or turned into National Socialist schools.²

By Article XXIII the rights of the Church to existing Catholic schools and to the provision of new schools is safeguarded. National Socialism so explicitly claims the sole right of education that such articles as this can only have been agreed by a complete mutual misunderstanding.

Article XXIV declares that the teaching in Catholic schools shall be in the hands of Catholic teachers and guarantees that there shall be no interference with the professional training of Catholic teachers. This Article is wholly a dead letter. Early in 1938 the last of the Catholic Teachers'

¹ *v. infra*, p. 233.

² As early as 1933 Professor Krieck (in *Volk im Werden*, Heft iii, pp. 11 ff.) had sought to show that the Concordat contemplates that Catholic schools should in fact be good National Socialist schools. Thus: this Article XXI on religious education is wholly subject to the bishops' oath of Article XVI. The schools are to be fundamentally subject to the ordinary laws of the National Socialist State. 'There is no reason why National-socialistically minded monks should not work in the Catholic denominational or private schools.' The writer would have preferred national to denominational schools.

But matters of outward organization are of second or third rate importance. The most important thing is and remains, that schools of every type and of every form of organization should under the leadership and responsibility of the State be permeated with the common national political thought and content and should aim at the common philosophical goal of the People. This is less an indication of the plain meaning of the Concordat than of the kind of interpretation that was to be put upon it by the State.

Training Colleges was turned into a Government institution.

By Article XXXI 'those Catholic organizations and associations which serve exclusively religious, purely cultural and charitable ends and as such are subject to ecclesiastical authority are protected in their establishments and activities'. Those associations which serve also social and vocational purposes are protected provided their activity is 'outside any political party'. Which organizations this Article is to cover is to be settled by mutual agreement between the contracting parties. Catholic members of national Youth organizations are not to have any requirement laid upon them which conflicts with their religious and ethical convictions and duties. The German Government, assuring the nation that National Socialism as a faith is not incompatible with Christianity and confining the Church activities to the non-political in the sense of the purely mystical or esoteric, would claim to have kept this Article. The Church naturally judges otherwise. It is impossible to determine how far there is genuine misunderstanding in cases of this kind. A document patient of such varied interpretation reflects small credit upon its draftsmen.¹

By Article XXXII the clergy are debarred from membership in a political party or activity on behalf of any party.

By Article XXXIII it is agreed that the affairs of Church and clergy shall be ordered by Canon Law except in so far as the Concordat has dealt with them. Further, should difficulties arise in respect to the interpretation or application of the Concordat, they are to be settled by amicable agreement.

I have not thought it necessary to translate the Concordat at length, for the difficulties have rarely been in respect of the nice discrimination between possible interpretations of a legal instrument. The Catholic Church complains that it has been robbed precisely of those privileges and precisely of that protection which it supposed to be guaranteed by the Concordat. The answer of the State in effect is, 'We thought

¹ As indicated above, the greatest fault of the draftsmen was their failure to realize that the Empowering Act deprived their words of the meaning and shelter which such expressions would have involved in a constitutional State.

we were dealing with a purely religious body, a Church; we find that, in practice, we are dealing with a political Opposition; it is, therefore, the Church and not we that has broken the Concordat'. With this reply I have dealt in the chapter on 'Political Catholicism'. Even apart from this fundamental difference of opinion, it must be admitted that the Concordat is so badly drafted that various interpretations of its meaning are often possible. It uses the terminology of a *Rechtsstaat* which is inapplicable in a totalitarian State.

Herr Hitler greeted the settlement of the Concordat on July 8th, 1933, in these terms:

It seems to me that by the achievement of the Concordat between the Holy See and the German Government sufficient guarantee has been given that citizens of the Roman Catholic persuasion will henceforward without qualification put themselves at the service of the National Socialist State. . . . I am happily convinced that we see the end of an epoch in which most regrettably religious and political interests only too often found themselves in apparently insoluble opposition. In this sphere the contract settled between the Reich and the Catholic Church will serve the restoration of that peace which we all desire.

Herr Hitler genuinely believed at this time, as it would seem, that on the terms of the Concordat he would have the assured and even enthusiastic support of the Church in his efforts to remake Germany. No doubt he received assurances to this effect from von Papen who hoped that, if the Church would support the régime, the Christian influences would dominate over the more pagan elements in the Party. The Church of Rome was not averse from the idea of the corporative State, as the agreement with Signor Mussolini had proved; the political ideals of National Socialism seemed to many to have much in common with the principles enunciated in the famous encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, and the insistence that the country should accept not merely the Government but also the philosophy of the National Socialist Party was not yet clear; Herr Rosenberg and Dr. Goebbels and Herr Himmler were not then in the saddle as they are to-day. Herr Hitler believed that '*Religion*' (which is concerned with the transcendental world) and *Weltanschauung*

(which is concerned with this world) could be kept apart.¹ If the authorities of the Vatican with their immeasurable experience did not at this time perceive the ultimate incompatibility of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* and the Christian faith, it would be ungenerous to blame unduly a very busy and not religiously minded layman for his equal failure to see the issues. There is no reason to ascribe bad faith to either party. The immanent logic of National Socialism has been too much for the Concordat.

But, if Herr Hitler sincerely believed what he said in July 1933, it is impossible to believe that the Concordat was accepted *ex animo* by his lieutenants. No one can deny that, before long, the Concordat was broken both in spirit and in letter. A very important article on the subject appeared in *L'Osservatore Romano* of July 15th, 1935. It had been hoped at first, said the writer, that the breaches of the Concordat in the past had been due to extremist and less responsible members of the Party under the leadership of Herr Rosenberg, who made no secret of his desire to suppress Christianity in Germany and introduce in its place the heathen cult of Race. But this view, it appeared, must now be abandoned in the light of a recent speech delivered at Münster by Dr. Frick, the Minister for the Interior.² With reference to the Sterilization Law Dr. Frick is reported to have said:

As a responsible representative of the Government I must here clearly lay it down that we are not minded to put up with any more of that kind of sabotage of the laws of the Reich. . . . The Concordat does not free the Catholic Church from regarding as binding upon its members also those laws which are in force for all in the State.

L'Osservatore Romano pointed out the implication of these words, that the Holy See had assumed the obligation of requiring of Catholics obedience to laws even though they were at variance with divine right and the Christian conscience. Any hope that Dr. Frick's highly disquieting utter-

¹ Certain Catholics, such as Dr. Eschweiler in Braunsberg, supported this view at first; but they were soon undeceived.

² The speech was reported in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 8th, 1935.

ance could be ascribed to a misunderstanding of the reporters was made impossible by a formal announcement of the German News Bureau on July 10th according to which Dr. Frick 'gives notice that the Law for the Prevention of congenitally weak Offspring, which is binding upon all, must also be observed by every German Catholic according to the terms of the Concordat'. This means, comments *L'Osservatore*, that the Concordat is deemed to bind the conscience of Catholics to a law which contradicts the teaching of the Church and the law of God. This involves 'a juridical and ethical absurdity'.¹ It is also a breach of the first Article of the Concordat which guarantees to Catholics the free public exercise of their religion. Further, how can the clergy be expected to inculcate in their religious instruction the principles at once of the Sterilization Law and of the Christian ethic?

Later in his speech Dr. Frick went on to say:

We have other organizations in the public life of Germany which introduce the people to the contrary of denominationalism. We National Socialists desire the public life of the country to be wholly delivered from denominationalism (*die völlige Entkonfessionalisierung des gesamten öffentlichen Lebens*). . . . I am bound to say that the Catholic vocational Associations, like their occupational Associations and the denominational Youth organizations, no longer fit in with our present time.

How could such an observation be reconciled with the manifest intentions of the Concordat?

Dr. Frick went on to speak of the Press. 'Is there any point in having a Catholic daily Press? We do not want a Catholic or a Protestant but only a German daily Press.' How does such a sentiment fit in with the agreement of the Concordat

¹ The absurdity, once again, arises from the attempt to apply the concepts of a *Rechtsstaat* in a totalitarian State. There would seem nothing to prevent Herr Hitler from promulgating a law substituting a national rite for Christian baptism and then claiming the obedience of Catholics under the terms of the Concordat, since the law is *allgemeingültig*, binding upon all. The illustration is not so far-fetched as might appear; for Count Reventlow, in *Reichswart*, No. 25, says of the abolition of the rite of infant baptism that 'we are convinced that this . . . is only a matter of time'. (Quoted in *Kulturkampf*, July 24th, 1936.) Herr Hitler has the *legal* right to make such a law, as Law is now understood in Germany.

that the Church shall have freedom to defend and propagate the faith and the morals of Christianity with the inculcating of the virtues of the good citizen as Christians understand them? These rights, as *L'Osservatore* points out, were reiterated and clearly set forth on September 10th, 1933, when the Concordat was ratified.¹

There is no room for doubt that Dr. Frick's speech truly represents the principles and policy of National Socialism. So far as the State was concerned, the Concordat was either a temporary expedient or the fruit of a misapprehension.

Some of the difficulties to which the Concordat early gave rise are indicated in Fr. Overmans's *Kulturbericht in Stimmen der Zeit*.² Just as a country may sign the Kellogg Pact whereby it promises never to settle disputes by war, yet such an agreement does not give legal justification to a citizen to refuse to fight if his country be found actually at war, so it was argued that the acceptance of the Concordat by the Reich did not of itself alter or qualify the existing law; the Concordat was never incorporated into the legal system of the country, and therefore no appeal to it might be upheld by the courts.³ Again, on June 3rd, 1935, the *Völkischer Beobachter* reports Dr. Frick as saying, 'the task of the Church is the cure of souls, but it is not its task to trespass upon the political field'. But the Concordat gives the Church freedom to teach its dogmatic and ethical doctrines. That carries with it, says Fr. Overmans, that the Church may teach the faithful what is, and what is not, permissible in the political field. With reference to a speech of Herr Rosenberg Fr. Overmans then points out that, if the Führer had said that National Socialism is not only a political movement but also the vindication of a new philosophy of life, he had also said, not once

¹ Dr. Frick replied to *L'Osservatore Romano* on August 3rd, but his answer seems to have amounted to no more than that the Sterilization Law was based on modern science to which the Vatican must accommodate itself: v. Ohlemüller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, p. 48.

² Band cxxix, 1934/5, p. 324.

³ But see the very important decision recorded in Heft 10 of the *Zeitschrift der Akademie für deutsches Recht*, cited in *Junge Kirche*, 1937, pp. 443 ff. Also the decision of the Bavarian courts recorded in *Juristische Wochenschrift*, March 23rd, 1935; v. also *Stimmen der Zeit*, Band cxxix, p. 324.

but many times, that with religion he had no intention of interfering. This is the crux of the whole matter. The Concordat contemplates National Socialism as a political movement, but National Socialism as a philosophy is also a religion.

But neither side had as yet been willing frankly to denounce the Concordat. It might well be felt in Rome that this instrument, often as it had been violated, yet offered a certain handle in dealing with the German Government and a certain very limited shelter to the Church. Herr Hitler on the other side had not been greatly hindered by the contract and would avoid any unnecessary action likely to reduce his popularity.

But many voices have been raised on the side of the State to indicate that the Concordat cannot stand. Thus in December 1936 the paper *Deutschlands Erneuerung* published a long article by Alfred Richter upon 'the relationship of the State to the Roman Church viewed from the points of view of Roman Catholicism, History and National Socialism'. The author starts from a consideration of Monsignor Ottaviani's *Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici*, published by the Vatican Press in 1936. His conclusion is that only in appearance does the Church afford the State the position of an equal partner; Concordats, Papal memoranda, and encyclicals all show clearly that the Church regards the State simply as a servant. To such an idea National Socialism could never for a moment consent. Rather, 'it will have to look for other ways to meet the religious needs of its Catholic citizens, ways which will be new in the history of the relations between State and Church and perhaps exemplary for other States'. Hitherto, says the author, National Socialism has trodden in old paths in spite of the pressure of its philosophy; the Concordat represents this old, bad way. But

the National Socialist Third Reich can neither be a Church-State nor can it aspire after a State-Church; it can neither follow the old motto of Liberalism and Marxism, 'Separation of Church and State' (still the demand of extreme Catholic circles), nor can it permanently maintain the present position under the Concordat. The Concordat is in many of its articles antiquated

and out of date. By various Articles it limits National Socialist legislation and the upbuilding of the National Socialist order. In view of experience since its settlement many of the terms of the Concordat can no longer be maintained in their integrity. Against the idea of any further settlement under a Concordat must be reckoned fundamental considerations and convictions, the justice of which is emphasized and underlined by Ottaviani's treatise.

The National Socialist State cannot recognize the Roman *curia* as partner with it in a contract, nor enter into treaty with it. The totalitarian claims of National Socialism upon the citizens are inconsistent with any limitations imposed by Church law or an international political treaty with a religious association. 'A contract between partners, who stand upon quite different levels, think in quite different worlds, and therefore speak a quite different speech, is for the most part a misfortune, a "Discordat", and often a permanent lie.' National Socialism cannot take over this relic of medieval thought. 'The individual Catholic scion of the People and citizen must be delivered from the cross-fire of the intersecting totalitarian claims of two sovereigns.' This must not be constructed as enmity to the Catholic Church, but for the future 'the National Socialist State can neither maintain nor revise a Concordat, nor can it frame a new Concordat'. The care of the Catholic Church in Germany must be the task of the German Government; this is a necessary implication of the National Socialist idea.

The logic of this plea is unanswerable. The claims of the supernational Church rest upon a Christian philosophy of life; where the latter is repudiated, the former cannot be allowed.

On March 22nd, 1937, with reference to the Concordat the *Völkischer Beobachter* said: 'Loyalty to a contract cannot be regarded as binding for ever and under all circumstances.' That is intelligible enough, but a long list of fundamental and indubitable breaches of the Concordat, such as was given by Bishop von Galen in his sermon of May 30th,¹ is an unavoidable slur upon the 'honour' and good faith of the

¹ *v. infra*, p. 179.

German Government. If the *Völkischer Beobachter* were content to declare that the Concordat must be denounced or revised, there would be no grounds for complaint; but unhappily this paper, which represents the Government in the person of Herr Rosenberg, was urging the violation of the Concordat by quasi-legal devices. The secularizing of the schools by means of a nominal popular vote in Munich has been one of the most discreditable parts of the Government campaign. The *Völkischer Beobachter* at that time¹ argued thus:

Irreconcilably with the educational principles of the Third Reich a solution of the school question has been reached which eaves the maintenance and new foundation of denominational schools to the free decision of parents. The strict observance of his hard ruling of the Concordat cannot dethrone the educational deal of the Party and the State. . . . The National Socialist school policy will, outside the limits which respect for the Concordat imposes, serve uncompromisingly National Socialist ends. And just as the Church is allowed up to a point to propagate the denominational schools, so in the same degree is it permitted to the State to depict to parents the advantages and the political mission of the national school.

This depicting of the advantages of the national school took the form of every imaginable kind of pressure, threat, and intimidation.

Der S.A. Mann is the official organ of the Storm Troops. On November 20th and 27th, 1937, there appeared in its columns two important articles on the Concordat; these would certainly not have appeared had the Government regarded them as untimely or injudicious. These articles are headed, 'Who is it that breaks the Concordat?'

The German Government, says the first article, is accused of breaking the Concordat. That is a misapprehension of the whole situation. The Concordat is the work of the unintelligent and hostile diplomacy of the Roman *curia*, which leads men to wonder 'whether a Church so led can be of Christ, or a Christianity so misused can be accepted for the soul's salvation'. The whole purpose of the Concordat

¹ In its South German edition, March 1st, 1937.

in the mind of the Vatican was one day to bring the German Government to its knees. 'The Vatican was ill-advised in 1933 to suppose that with a Government that had scarcely begun its work one could settle a Concordat with the idea of using it to make impossible the development and fulfilment of this work.' Cardinal Pacelli's idea was to save the Centre Party, not indeed as a party, but as 'the sum of the Catholic organizations'. In fact, 'he wanted to block the way to any future development of National Socialist cultural politics, and he thought the trick would not be observed in Berlin'. Hence right upon right was demanded in the Concordat with a view to an ultimate political domination of the clergy. 'Every clear-sighted and honourable Catholic politician in Germany and elsewhere said more or less clearly in the summer of 1933, "This Concordat with the Reich may from the Church's point of view well be an ideal, but it stands in such complete contradiction of the whole situation in Germany that it cannot be implemented."' The Concordat was purely a political dodge.

I offer a brief comment. It will be very generally agreed that, in view of the past relationship of the Church to the Party, in the Concordat the Church made a surprisingly favourable bargain with the new Government—on paper. There may well have been many, including, as *Der S.A. Mann* claims, Cardinals Pacelli and Faulhaber, who did not believe it to be an arrangement that could work in practice. But there was another school of thought, represented by von Papen and Bishop Hudal, who hoped that a distinction could be drawn between National Socialism as a political theory and National Socialism as a philosophy; they thought the Church could well support the former, and that the Christians supporting the Government would be strong enough to keep the latter in the background. The Pope ratified the Concordat with many misgivings, and certainly not with the thought that he could trick the Government into a position which would lead to the ultimate reconstruction of the Centre Party. *Der S.A. Mann* greatly exaggerates the enthusiasm of the Vatican for the Centre Party. In no sense was that party 'the sum of Catholic organizations'; its

disappearance was viewed without a qualm by many in Rome and probably by some of the German bishops. The liquidation of the Centre Party was, in fact, part of the Concordat settlement. The Papacy looks with much more favour upon the laity organized in Catholic Action than upon any Centre Party. It may be that few believed that the Concordat could ultimately stand, but, so far as the Church was concerned, its signature was rather an effort to save what could be saved at the moment than a far-sighted device to call into being an ecclesiastical control of Germany.

Der S.A. Mann plays with the idea that the Concordat was agreed, not by the Party, but by the State, and complains of the Vatican's 'open sabotage against the unification of State and Party'. How could the National Socialist State stand by the Concordat in view of the 'sabotage and lack of understanding' in the clergy? In fact, it is not the State that has broken the Concordat. The Pope had attempted to play off State against Party; he could not expect the Party, which knew by experience the attitude of the Church to it, to consent to the Concordat.

The second article brings out clearly the intrinsic contradiction. The State in signing the Concordat, as *Der S.A. Mann* contends, does not contemplate that within its borders any other conception of the State may be canvassed than that of National Socialism. Article XXXII, we note, debars the priest from participation in politics; but, as the supplementary protocol makes clear, this prohibition is not intended to limit the priests in their obligatory dogmatic and ethical teaching; but the Vatican had always insisted that this Article gave the priests the right to political activity in the form of propagating the principles of the Christian conception of the State in the sense of St. Thomas. *Der S.A. Mann* is justified in saying that the Concordat is unworkable; for on principle National Socialism can tolerate no rival conception of the State and of society; the Catholic Church, on the other hand, is not free to propagate its dogmatic and ethical teaching if it may not announce its Christian Thomistic doctrine of the State.

The second article goes on to deal with the Papal politics.

In particular, Cardinal Pacelli's friendly visit to Paris comes in for indignant criticism:

In Germany no one will ever be able to understand that the Pope issues an encyclical against atheistic Communism, strictly forbidding Catholics any co-operation with Bolshevism, while his chief representative in a signal manner makes common cause with the Marxist Popular Front and goes out of his way to do honour to a France that is tied to Moscow and Free Masonry. The ways of God are wonderful, but the ways of Cardinal Pacelli are unsavoury.

Next the charge of 'new heathenism' is considered. 'Sir Cardinal, it would be no marvel if to-day in the light of a Church so led and a Christianity so abused earnest men should seek refuge in a sound heathenism. "Woe to that man through whom the offence cometh!" We leave it to the Lord God to hang a mill-stone round whom He will.' In view of the Church's shame there are in fact movements which seek to give the natural bond of People and State a splendour and religious expression such as are becoming and doubtless willed by God. Such movements are not to be regarded as anti-Christian but as parallel with Christianity. It is largely the Church's fault that the majority in Germany has lost its faith, and that its return to Church dogma is not to be expected in measurable time.

Again, why is the attitude of the Vatican to Japan so different from its attitude to Germany? The writer points to the revival of religious Nationalism with the worship of the Emperor as the offspring of the sun-goddess and the cult of the heroes. On the mainland Japan has instituted the Confucian cult. For two hundred years Catholics in Japan and China were strictly forbidden to participate in such State-cults; why is all that altered now? Last year the Pope permitted Catholics to participate in this cult of the Emperor and of Confucius. In mission schools pictures of Confucius are set in decorated niches, and Christian children are permitted to make their cult-obedience before them. Why then is the Hitler-greeting in Germany a sin and the march to the Hall of the Warriors a festival of Satan?

These are interesting questions. Their relevance lies in

the evidence they purport to afford that the quarrel between the Vatican and the Party is political and not religious. The most loyal ultramontane Catholic is not bound to defend the Papal politics. It is, no doubt, extremely significant that the Pope should appear to turn rather to France than to Germany, but *Der S.A. Mann* misinterprets. There can be no doubt that Pius XI with his horror of Bolshevism was politically in far more sympathy with the anti-Marxist, authoritarian State in Germany than with democratic France allied to Moscow. If the issue were really political, as *Der S.A. Mann* seems to suppose, Cardinal Pacelli's compliments would have been paid in Berlin and not in Paris. The issue is religious.

No doubt the whole Church in Germany, Catholic and Evangelical, must take much blame for the alienation of so much of the country from the Christian faith. That is generally recognized; but the Church has resisted a great temptation. *Der S.A. Mann* sees very clearly that, if the National Socialist Party genuinely accepted the Concordat, it would betray its vital totalitarian principle. The Church, conversely, would have been guilty of a like betrayal if in order to win the whole nation she had adopted the principles of Race and Blood and Soil as proclaimed by the Nazi Party. A section of the Protestants took this line, the so-called German Christians, and have thereby, in the judgement of most, forfeited their place in the Church oecumenical. To the National Socialist it inevitably seems that the Church missed a great opportunity. The Christian theologian is bound to judge that the Church refused a great temptation.

It is interesting, if not amusing, that *Der S.A. Mann* should ask why the attitude of the Vatican to Germany and Japan respectively is so different. It is amusing because, as the paper cannot well have forgotten, there was a parallel much nearer home. Why, the paper should have asked, is the Vatican so friendly to Italy and so unfriendly to Germany? Had this been the question raised, the answer would have been obvious and unwelcome. Italy requires of the Vatican consent to her politics but does not insist upon the acceptance of a philosophy of Race and Blood and Soil. If the

issue were merely political, as *Der S.A. Mann* would have us believe, the relations of the Vatican would be as cordial with Germany as with Italy. But the reference to Japan is interesting because there is up to a point a real parallel to Germany in the Japanese resuscitation of Nationalism and a much neglected, if not half-forgotten, paganism as a national religion. There are, however, notable differences between the two cases: (a) it could not be maintained that Japan is repudiating a traditional Christian allegiance; there can be no question of national apostasy. (b) The Japanese authorities are always at pains to make it clear that the cult at the shrines required of all citizens is purely a civil function and in no sense a religious service. (c) The Japanese have fallen short of a totalitarian claim which requires the acceptance of a quasi-religious philosophy by the whole nation. (d) The Church is not vilified, denounced, and persecuted in Japan as it is in Germany. Once again, *Der S.A. Mann* has drawn the wrong conclusion. The accommodating spirit of the Vatican in the face of the Japanese requirements has caused some anxiety and even consternation among the Protestant communions in Japan, Manchuria, and China. The Vatican will go a very long way to meet the demands of Nationalism. If the Roman Church can co-operate harmoniously with the Governments in Italy and Japan, it would seem proof positive that the quarrel with Germany is not political.

In 1937 argument against the Concordat was in place. In 1938 we come to frank denunciation. On February 17th *Das Schwarze Korps*, which is the paper owned by the head of the Secret Police and is published by the official Nazi publishing house, issued a number containing an important article on the Concordat. It protests that the national Concordat, like the previous regional Concordats, presupposes the old Germany resting upon a federation of States, a party system, and a Liberal outlook. Its background, therefore, is largely the Weimar Constitution of 1918, not the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler. Thus a number of clauses are in fact obsolete. Article II, for instance, presupposes the old federal Constitution. Article XXIII is bound up with the existence of denominational schools, 'which from the point of view both

of organization and theory have become impossible in the new Reich'. Article XXV, again, 'guarantees denominational private schools; but National Socialism cannot look with a friendly eye upon the private school'. Article XXXI contemplates denominational vocational associations, 'for which there can be no place in the National Socialist régime'. Article XXXII has in mind, similarly, a multiplicity of political parties in Germany. Article XXXIII contemplates a settlement of differences by agreement between the Reich and the *curia*; but such negotiations between partners, both of whom make totalitarian claims, can only be unfruitful, as experience has shown.

Furthermore, the Concordat has not merely been used by the Church for its own political purposes, it has acted as a drag upon the development within the State. 'It is outside the task and the meaning of a Concordat that it should limit the inner political development of a State, or in the special sphere of ecclesiastical politics should hold fast to legal and political circumstances that otherwise belong to the past.'¹ Other terms of the Concordat, such as the right to the publication of pastoral letters and the privileges of the religious orders, cannot be maintained in view of the Church's behaviour as shown in the utterances of the bishops, the Currency Trials, and the Immorality Trials. Again, the privileges accorded the Catholic clergy over other members of the People and afforded the Catholic Church over other Churches are a contradiction of the principle of the equality of all German citizens and all religious fellowships.² In 1933 Herr Hitler had claimed and reckoned upon the moral support of the Church in his great task of national reconstruction. This moral support he had not received. On the contrary, pastoral letters, sermons, pamphlets, and encyclicals had insulted the Government in the eyes of the nation's enemies as well as of those within the Reich.

Das Schwarze Korps continues: the presuppositions under

¹ Cf. Professor Weber in *Zeitschrift der Akademie für deutsches Recht*, August 1938; Gerhardt Ohlemüller, *Reichskonkordat zwischen Deutschland und dem Vatikan, Urkunden und geschichtliche Bemerkungen* (Berlin, Saemann-Verlag, 1937).

² This point is developed in an article attacking the Concordat which appeared in *Der Angriff* on January 3rd, 1938.

which the Government in all good faith agreed to the Concordat have in fact never been realized, its expectations have been falsified. Herr Rosenberg put the matter well at the Party Congress at Nürnberg in 1937 when he said: 'The Churches had the grand opportunity of putting their work at the disposal of Adolf Hitler, as the new State was being built up, and of marching with him. They have let the opportunity slip, and when one does not, or will not, recognize such chances of world-history, one has oneself spoken the verdict of destiny.' It is believed, says *Das Schwarze Korps*, that the Vatican signed the Concordat guilefully under the impression that the régime could not last long and in the hope that it might play a predominant part in the future under 'Brüning *redivivus*'. Hence the Vatican never had a moment's thought for the political conditions implied in the Concordat, namely, the support of the National Socialist State. On the contrary, the Vatican has always set its face against that unification of State and Party which has been achieved in the course of the National Socialist Revolution.

Many National Socialists, continues the article, are of opinion that National Socialism cannot recognize any individual, independent, organized elements within the State. That idea comes from the period of the Middle Ages and of Liberal democracy. There can be no international treaty to grant individuals personal exemption, within or without the State, from the position of all other citizens. The State itself guarantees the religious requirements of its citizens, subject only to the safety of the State itself and the ethical sentiments of the German Race.

The question of the ending of the Concordat inevitably arises. The Catholic Church itself recognizes that the *clausula rebus sic stantibus* applies to such agreements. The maintenance of the Concordat can only be approved by those who look upon a Concordat as a privilege conferred upon a State by the Pope, and who believe in the subordination of the State to the Church. The time for Concordats has gone by.¹

¹ Many of these points were emphasized later in the year by Dr. Goebbels: v. *Osservatore Romano*, November 26/27, 1938.

A brief comment will again be in place. The suggestion that the Concordat is in spirit a pre-Revolution document carries little weight; it was inaugurated and carried through by the new régime and hailed as one of its earliest triumphs. It is, however, quite true that the Concordat does not contemplate National Socialism as itself a religion and is inconsistent with the present demands and intentions of the Nazi Party. National Socialism, as it now is, would stultify itself if it consented to the Concordat. The Concordat, therefore, by the admission of the National Socialists themselves, is in fact very largely a dead letter. By the Party it is now recognized as a regrettable mistake, and even the Church might well judge that under present circumstances she would be in a stronger position if she did not rest her claims upon principles and promises to which her antagonist is committed in word but not at heart. Over the passing of the Concordat few tears would be shed.

VIII
AN HISTORICAL SURVEY
1933

IN May of 1924, the first election it contested, the National Socialist Party won 32 seats, but its representation was reduced to 14 in the election of the following December. In 1928 it won only 12 seats, but in 1930 it won 107. In July of 1932 the number rose to 230, but fell again in November to 196. In March of 1933 it reached 288. But even in this Reichstag of 1933, where the followers of Herr Hitler had an enormous majority over any other party, they were far from representing a unanimous nation. At this election the Centre Party held 73 seats, the Bavarian (Catholic) Party 19, the Social Democrats (or Labour Party) 120, and the Communists 81.

But on January 30th, 1933, Herr Hitler had become Chancellor. On that same day Dr. Frick addressed the representatives of the Press, and declared¹ that the Government would co-operate legally with the Reichstag, that the Communist Party would not be forbidden, and that the limitations upon the freedom of the Press imposed by Chancellor Schleicher would be removed. This may be cited as a monumental instance of the infelicity and fallibility which sometimes attends the speeches of Cabinet Ministers.

Within a week Herr Hitler had promulgated a decree for the Protection of the German People² in which the rights of public meeting and of the Press under Article 48 of the Constitution were radically curtailed. No political meeting was to be held without permission of the police, no advocacy of civil disobedience was to be permitted nor any decrying of the organs, orders, or leaders of the State; nor was any offence to be given to any legally recognized religious institutions. Newspapers were to be liable to suppression if they sponsored high treason, instigated to civil disobedience,

¹ Horkenbach, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 33.

² February 4th, *ib.*, 1933, p. 43.

or offered insults either to the leaders of the State or to legally recognized religious institutions.

We may observe that in effect this decree proscribed political opposition as intolerable, that, as becomes very plain in the sequel, any opposition whatever to the will of the Party or Government may be deemed *eo ipso* to be political, if not treasonable, and that, however widely the provisions of this decree have in practice and later legislation been extended to cover all Church opposition whether to the legislation or to the ideas of the Party, the decree has rarely been enforced against attacks upon the Church, however scurrilous.¹

On February 8th, four days later, Herr Hitler explained that he had no intention of muzzling the Press—provided that it behaved itself;² on February 10th the Press uttered some kind of protest,³ and on the 14th Herr Hitler replied that the whole Press must be of one mind with the Government;⁴ on the 18th *Germania* and other Catholic journals were (temporarily) suspended.⁵ The anxiety of the Church was expressed in Cardinal Faulhaber's appeal: 'Let us pray that the men at the head of the State do not come to say, "We are the State"'.⁶ That National Socialism would tolerate opposition in fact as little as in theory became plain from the very first.

February 27th was the day of the Reichstag fire. It has never been made certain that the Nazis were themselves the incendiaries, nor probable that any others were. On the very next day the Government was ready with an Extraordinary Decree for the Protection of People and State.⁷ Seven articles of the Constitution were hereby suspended; strict limitations were put upon personal freedom, public speech, newspapers, and the right of assembly; the secrecy of letters, telegrams, and the telephone was greatly qualified; provision was made for the searching of houses, the arrest of suspects, and the confiscation of property. This decree was

¹ One instance may be found recorded in *Deutsches Wollen*, May 4th, 1934.

² Horkenbach, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 48. ³ *Ib.*, p. 55. ⁴ *Ib.*, p. 59.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 62. ⁶ In his pastoral letter, February 26th, 1933; *ib.*, p. 71.

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 73 ff.

directed nominally against the Communists, but it has been constantly employed against the Church. Under it the use of the post office and the telephone has been made impossible for Church purposes, pastors' and even bishops' houses have been repeatedly searched, and very large sums of money have been sequestrated by the Government. With this decree civil liberty, as it is understood and valued in democratic countries, came to an end, and to the far-seeing there appeared before the Church a dark and dangerous passage leading to the catacombs.¹

On March 13th the editor-in-chief of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* with one of his sub-editors was arrested, the offices of the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, the Görres-Haus, was occupied by the Storm Troops and three of the staff were arrested; at the same time two other Catholic newspapers were suppressed.²

On March 15th Dr. Goebbels announced to the representatives of the Press the setting up of the five departments of his Ministry of Propaganda, Wireless, Press, Active Propaganda, Film and Theatre, Popular Education. In all these he declared his aim to be a co-ordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of

¹ From a long but incomplete list of convictions in the Appendix to *Hitler gegen Christus*, by 'Miles Ecclesiae' (Paris, Société d'Éditions Européennes, 1936), I select the following typical instances: Fr. Brodesser, five months' imprisonment for insulting the Chancellor and Dr. Goebbels (*Berliner Tageblatt*, 1933); Fr. Josef Schmidt, three months' imprisonment for disrespect to the Swastika (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1933); Fr. Dangelmeier, Concentration Camp for gathering Catholic youth when Hitler was addressing the nation and putting on the loud-speaker only when the speech was over (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1933); Frs. Sturm and Lausle, Concentration Camp for saying Mass for the souls of executed Communists (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, January 1934); Frs. Solacher, Muhler, and Thaler, three, four, and five months in prison respectively for retailing atrocity stories about the (notorious) Concentration Camp at Dachau (*Völkischer Beobachter*, January 1934); Herr Pator of Bornheim, a year's imprisonment for unfavourable remarks about the Hitler Youth and *Mein Kampf* (*National-Zeitung*, February 19th, 1935); Prelate Leffers, eighteen months' imprisonment for attacking Rosenberg's *Mythus*, April 12th, 1935. This list might be almost indefinitely extended. I cannot be certain whether these convictions were under the decree of February 28th or of March 21st, or in some cases, perhaps, under the so-called 'Pulpit Paragraph', § 130a of the criminal code. The telephone could be used for sinister purposes. One bishop had later to advise his clergy that no telephoned orders purporting to come from him should be obeyed till they were confirmed in writing!

Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 112.

People and Government; it was, he said, the avowed intention of the Government by these means to win to its side the whole nation and to unite all Germans in the ideas of the national Revolution.¹

On March 21st the opening of the Reichstag took place in the Potsdam Garrison Church. It was preceded by an Evangelical Service in the Nikolai Church (this was attended by President von Hindenburg) and by a Catholic Service in the Pfarrkirche; this latter was not attended by Herr Hitler and his minister Dr. Goebbels; instead, they took the occasion to lay a wreath upon the grave of their fallen Storm Troop colleague, Horst Wessel.

On the same day was promulgated a further ordinance, 'for defence against malicious attacks on the Government of the national Uprising'. The death penalty was decreed for any offence that might cause international difficulties, whether committed at home or abroad; other penalties were ordained for those who should utter untrue or defamatory ideas concerning Germany or the Government or the Party. Special courts, from which there could be no appeal, were to be set up to deal with cases under this law and that of February 28th. Thus it became a criminal offence to utter opinions about the Government or even the Party if these opinions could be deemed 'malicious', not by the ordinary courts, but by courts designed to fulfil the intentions of the Party.²

The prison house having thus been adequately prepared, Herr Hitler could well afford to speak smooth words to the Christian Church. Two days later he declared in the Reichstag that the Government guaranteed the conditions necessary for 'a really deep inner religiousness', that 'the national Government recognizes the two Christian Confessions to be most important factors for the maintenance of our national life', that the Government, which would respect the rights of the Church, would claim in return the Church's support in its moral endeavours. In school and education the national Government will 'concede and ensure the influence' that pertains to the Churches; Church and

¹ *Ib.*, p. 114.

² *Ib.*, p. 128.

State must co-operate in the battle for national unity and against materialism. In respect of law, the Chancellor continued, the maintenance of the national life required a certain 'elasticity', for the law is primarily concerned, not with the individual, but with the People; hence treason was to be burned out 'with barbaric ruthlessness'.¹

It is confidently believed that when Herr Hitler addresses his inner circle at Ordensburg he speaks in a tone very different from that of his public utterances, but in this speech, however misleading in effect, he probably said nothing he did not mean. Both Communism and National Socialism believe that at bottom the Christian religion is 'dope' for the people. The Communists, therefore, determined to extirpate the faith, the National Socialists preferred to use it for their own ends. Religious feeling, the department of the Church, is to be used to support the national morale, to fortify the sense of national unity, and to sanctify the campaign against the Communists. How could the Church refuse a call like this? Herr Hitler's argument was plausible; it may well have been sincere. Let but the Church accept National Socialism, and for the rest it should be free and honoured in the State. Subsequent events, especially in connexion with the so-called 'German Christians', prove that Herr Hitler meant no less than he said. If to the far-seeing among the Christians this sounded like the voice of the Tempter, to the National Socialist it must appear that the Church was offered generous and alluring terms.

On the same day, March 23rd, there was passed the Empowering Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*), whereby for a period of six months unlimited power was vested in the Chancellor; parliamentary government was to be abolished, and the decisions of ministers, certified by the Chancellor and printed in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, were to come into force on the day after their publication.² Naturally this law was not accepted by the Reichstag without much heart-searching, and there is secret history gathering round a letter alleged to have been written by Herr Hitler to Prelate Kaas which never reached

¹ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 133.

² Text in Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 140.

its destination; trickery and bad faith could be alleged, but the full facts will probably never be made known. Under pressure of necessity and on the understanding that the law was to remain in force for six months only, the leader of the Centre Party voted for it with reservations.¹

In proposing this new law Herr Hitler had said in the Reichstag that the abolition of parliamentary government did not mean 'the curtailing of the rights of the Churches or the alteration of their relations to the State'.² Following this, although on February 25th the bishops had said that Catholics must only support Christian candidates, and a few days previously the Catholic organizations had been summoned to vote against the Government,³ the bishops, met in conclave at Fulda, on March 28th formally raised the ban on National Socialism.⁴ This was in effect a declaration of peace, or at least of truce, with the Government. The wisdom of the act may be disputed, and the influences that led to it are uncertain. In future, membership of the National Socialist Party was not to be held incompatible with membership of the Catholic Church.

But this did not mean that the Church was either blind or happy. Less than a fortnight later the bishops of Cologne, Paderborn, and Osnabruck summoned their dioceses to earnest prayer, not merely for the unity and freedom of the people, but also because, as they said, these were days of severe and bitter suffering for many good and loyal men.⁵

A few days previously, on April 5th, the so-called 'German Christians' had met and demanded the co-ordination (*Gleichschaltung*) of Church and State, and the acceptance of the *Führerprinzip* for the Church; this meant, in effect, that there should be an ecclesiastical, as well as a civil, Empowering Act. They claimed, further, that the Old Testament, as the work of Jews, was no longer to be regarded as revelation, and that State, People, and Race were to be regarded as the three great orders of Creation. Protestants, they said, who

¹ Prelate Kaas' speech is quoted in Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, pp. 138 ff.

² *Ib.*, p. 135.

³ Waldemar Gurian, *Der Kampf um die Kirche im dritten Reich* (Luzern, Vita Nova Verlag, 1936), p. 121.

⁴ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 146.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 170.

had married outside the Race should be excommunicated.¹ The 'German Christians' are an Evangelical, not a Catholic, heresy, but the bishops were given in this proclamation a clear indication of what the Government was likely to understand by 'a really deep inward religiousness'.

On April 25th came the first of the new School laws. Hitherto the schools have implanted false ideas and set themselves to build up 'free individual personality'. A new start must be made along new lines.² On April 26th the Secret Police in Prussia were put directly under control of General Göring; that is, they were withdrawn from the control of the Ministry of Justice,³ and on the same day four distinguished leaders of the Centre Party in the Rhineland were arrested.⁴ On May 1st Herr Hitler made a speech in which he expressed his 'dream of a Germany that can once again ensure our people our daily bread on earth'. He concluded with these words: 'Lord, we depart not from thee; now bless our battle for our freedom and therewith for our German People and Fatherland.'⁵

Here ends, in Cuno Horckenbach's judgement, the first phase of the German Revolution. It will be well briefly to survey the situation.

The 'persecution' of the Church has not begun, but all the machinery is in order. It would not be fair to suggest that the legislation, nominally directed against the Communists and against political opposition, was deliberately framed for the disadvantage of the Church. At this time few of the Church leaders had read either *Mein Kampf* or the *Mythus*, and Herr Hitler with his lieutenants had no understanding of Christianity as a religion. But the mind of the Government, as expressed in its legislation, to brook no opposition is clear enough. All the resources of wireless, Press, theatre, film, and school are to be used to achieve national unity in the spirit of the Party; neither political nor any other opposition that would militate against national unity so understood is to be endured. Public meetings may only be held subject to the goodwill of the police; no newspaper may

¹ Horckenbach, op. cit., 1933, pp. 157 ff.

³ *Ib.*, p. 185.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 186.

² *Ib.*, p. 184.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 194, 196.

express opinions derogatory to the Government or its representatives; any movement or idea that might cause disunion among the people must be suppressed; any citizen suspected of political disaffection is liable to arrest, to the searching of his house, the tampering with his telephone and correspondence, the sequestration of his property. Meanwhile the Church is under grave suspicion already through its association with the Bavarian People's Party and the Centre Party. Once let the Government declare that Catholicism is inevitably or in fact *political* Catholicism, and the 'persecution' of the Church will begin in earnest. In the sequel we shall be concerned mostly with different aspects of the conflict as they wax and wane, but it should constantly be borne in mind that, whatever the immediate occasion or excuse, any Christian whose attitude may seem, not to the properly constituted and regular courts, but to the Secret Police, the instrument of the Party, to be unsatisfactory is subject to all the trials, perils, and disabilities first intended for the Communists. It is not to be thought that that which the Christians call their 'persecution' is due to special intransigency on occasion or to violent Neronic outbreaks of savagery; it follows logically from first principles which are to National Socialism as a religion. Right is identified with the good of the community; this in its turn is identified with the will of the Party, which is identical with the will of a Leader whose purposes, so far as Germany is concerned, are the manifestation of the divine; morality and religion are thus at one; and National Socialism would be untrue to itself could it tolerate Christianity as known to us in history or in the Bible.

With May 2nd begins the second period, that of co-ordination or *Gleichschaltung*. On May 6th Dr. Brüning, ex-Chancellor, succeeded Prelate Kaas as leader of the Centre Party with plenary powers of reorganization.¹ His hope was to hold the Centre Party together, at least in some skeleton form, until the expiry of the Empowering Act. It was foredoomed to failure. On the next day Herr Hitler declared that there could be only 'one organization of the political will',² and a few weeks later he said that in the new Germany

¹ *Ib.*, p. 203.

² *Ib.*, p. 206.

the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* or underlying philosophy was the foundation of everything, and that its depository (*Trägerin*) was the Party.¹ Meanwhile a responsible minister in Bavaria, Adolf Wagner, had publicly declared at Regensburg that in future no more parties would be tolerated.² By the end of June all the leaders of the Bavarian People's Party were in prison.³ On June 28th Dr. Goebbels advised the Centre Party voluntarily to dissolve itself;⁴ the Centre Party tried to save the situation, but Dr. Goebbels made another uncompromising speech,⁵ and the cause of 'political Catholicism' was obviously doomed. On July 4th the Bavarian People's Party was tricked into voluntary dissolution; on the next day the Centre Party followed suit.⁶

Meanwhile other events of importance to the Church had taken place. On May 5th there had appeared a pastoral letter from the archdiocese of Munich and Freising upon the subject of the *Rechtsstaat*, that is, on the idea of the State as resting upon law.⁷ As if in answer to this came two official speeches at a gathering of lawyers in Berlin;⁸ Oberpräsident Kube declared that, while judges should be upright, 'objectivity' had its limits precisely at that point where questions of the nation were at stake; Dr. Frank, Minister of Justice in Bavaria, added that law is a means, not a final end; a judicial objectivity, to be identified with a misconstruction of the true end of law, was an abuse of the judge's office; a service of law could only be a service of the People; never, for instance, would National Socialist jurists abandon the requirement that all Jews without exception must be driven out of every branch of the legal profession.

The conception of law here indicated is one of the most fundamental of the changes introduced by the new régime; it marks a point where no agreement with the Catholic Church is possible, and it explains and determines the actions of the State and Party in the sequel. Its principles are briefly indicated by Dr. Frank in his pamphlet *Neues*

¹ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 251. ² *Ib.*, p. 219. ³ *Ib.*, pp. 263, 268.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 265.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 274.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 275.

⁷ Gurian, op. cit., p. 121.

⁸ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 216.

Deutsches Recht.¹ 'The National Socialist philosophy', he wrote, 'was bound to give rise to the demand for a thorough-going change in the idea of Right, for the current idea of Right in respect alike of its sources and its content was un-German, the product of an alien spirit.' He cited Herr Hitler as saying on March 23rd, 1933: 'Our law must in the first instance serve the preservation of the fellowship of the People. Not the individual but the People must be the central interest of legislation. The *raison d'être* of Justice cannot be other than that of the nation.' Right is, therefore, defined by Dr. Frank as 'that which brings the People salvation (*Heil*)'. The concept of the 'fellowship of the People' is substituted for the traditional individualistic principle of Right. Thus in the place of the sentence, 'No punishment without a breach of the law', National Socialism sets up the principle, 'No crime without punishment'. Thus 'a criminal act will be punished even though it be not expressly declared by the law to be punishable, if punishment should be in accord with the fundamental idea of the penal law and the sound feeling of the People'. It is necessary to comment here, that the National Socialist Party regards itself as the sole arbiter and interpreter of the 'sound feeling of the People'. This means in principle and in fact that the law, so far from being a bulwark of liberty, is no defence against the arbitrary wish of a revolutionary government. Dr. Frank is quoted as having said elsewhere, 'only that which the National Socialist Party recognizes as right is right'.² This will seem to the rest of the world to be rather the denial than the affirmation of right or law. 'The ethical goal of National Socialism's reform of Right', says Dr. Frank elsewhere in his pamphlet, 'is to bring the formal ordinances of law into the greatest possible consonance with ethical laws. This is the meaning of the National Socialist demand, so often reiterated by the Führer, that law and morality be in agreement.' By this is not meant, as simple readers might suppose, that law must conform to objective and universal

¹ *Neues Deutsches Recht*, by Dr. Hans Frank (*Hier spricht das neue Deutschland*, Heft 2, München, Eher-Verlag, 1934).

² *Kulturkampf*, December 10th, 1936.

ethical principles, for National Socialism recognizes no final principles of morality other than the good of the Race and People as interpreted by itself.¹

On June 3rd, 1933, the bishops issued a joint pastoral letter that was at once friendly to the Government and admonitory.² On June 17th Baldur von Schirach was appointed 'Youth Leader of the German Reich'.³ On June 22nd the responsible minister, Dr. Ley, declared that all the organizations of the German Labour Front were to be purged of Marxists and 'Centre men'; no workers' organizations were to be allowed outside the official Labour Front; 'all other associations, including the so-called Catholic and Evangelical Workers' Associations, are to be regarded as enemies of the State'.⁴

The peril of the Church was obvious; this had, indeed, been clearly recognized in the pastoral letter from the episcopal Conference at Fulda published on June 3rd; it might even seem that war had been openly declared on Christian principles and Christian institutions. With the more surprise, therefore, we note the initialing of the Concordat on July 8th and the optimistic dictum of von Papen that 'future strife between Church and State is now ruled out'.⁵ The principles and implications of the Concordat have been discussed in an earlier chapter. It has to be remembered that there was, and still is, a Catholic group of the opinion that National Socialism is a movement that can be, and ought to be, baptized. The National Socialist Party is no mere horde of gangsters, though it numbers many such in its ranks; it enjoys the (increasingly qualified) support of many men of character

¹ At the Penal Congress held in August 1935 the Minister of Justice, Dr. Gurtner, declared that the question of 'guilt' in the new Germany is determined not only by the laws but also by 'the sound feelings of the German nation'. A judge is not to be bound by the written word, by the rigidity of legal definitions; he may sentence a man for 'any attack upon the interests of the National Community'; in doing so he must act 'according to a uniform view of life' given to the nation by National Socialism: v. *The Spectator*, February 18th, 1938. Cf. *The House that Hitler Built*, by Stephen H. Roberts (London, Methuen, 1937), pp. 282 ff. The new conception of law received legislative form on June 28th, 1935. v. *infra*, p. 134.

² Gurian, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.

³ Horckenbach, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 55.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 260.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

and religion who earnestly wish that from the first the Church had taken up an attitude less negative towards it. If in view of later events we should decide that Herr Hitler's first overtures to the Church were a temptation of the Evil One, yet there were many honest men such as von Papen in Berlin and Bishop Hudal in Rome who, not without some reason, saw in the practical proposals of National Socialism something like a realization of the principles of *Quadragesimo Anno*, and who believed that the Church identifying herself with the movement would not merely keep it upon Christian lines and fortify the better elements within it, but actually make it an instrument of the Church.

On July 18th certain Catholic organizations such as the People's Association for Catholic Germany and the Peace-fellowship of German Catholics went into 'voluntary' liquidation;¹ the Concordat was signed on July 20th.

Five days later came the publication of the Sterilization Law which had been agreed by the Cabinet on July 1st but had been held up—doubtless till the Concordat was well settled.² This law, which was in violent conflict with the rules of the Church and in doubtful consonance with the Concordat itself, was an indication that the signature of the Concordat marked no change of heart in the National Socialist Party.³ Controversy about this measure, however, arose chiefly at a later date; for the present, discussion ranged rather over the significance and interpretation of the Concordat.

Herr Hitler had now been in power for a little more than six months and already 497 laws and ordinances had been placed on the new statute book, a remarkable feat of enthusiasm and industry. For the rest of the year there was a lull in the Church conflict, partly, no doubt, because both sides wished to see what the Concordat would effect in practice, and partly because of the imminence of an election in which a spectacular victory was desired by the Government that both Germany and the world might be impressed with the

¹ *Ib.*, p. 292.

² *Ib.*, p. 302.

³ *v.* 'Catholics and the German Law of Sterilisation', by Dr. Fairfield (in *The Catholic Medical Guardian*, July 1938).

unity and purpose of the new régime. Herr Hitler was about to announce that Germany would leave the League of Nations.

The most important event was the Vatican's ratification of the Concordat on September 10th. This was not without questions and stipulations,¹ but there were those in the Church who had hoped that the Pope would stay his hand at least till October when the Empowering Act would cease to have validity. It may well be doubted, on the one hand, whether the Pope was well advised to act so soon, and, on the other, whether delay would have brought appreciable advantage.

Lesser events may be recorded either to indicate which way the wind was blowing or to illustrate the confusion of the time. On August 2nd a Prussian law was passed to make punishments more stringent as opposed to what the State Secretary, Dr. Friesler, called 'the muddle-headedness of humanitarianism' (*Humanitätsduselei*),² while a fortnight later vivisection was forbidden in Prussia at the express wish of the Führer!³ In August a number of Catholic papers were suppressed.⁴ In September, as if in anticipation of the 'political Church' to be later announced, notice was given of a National Harvest Thanksgiving to give expression to the blood-kinship of the whole People with its peasantry,⁵ and the local President in Silesia ordered the banishment of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac from the schools on the ground that its conception of the Deity was 'un-German'.⁶

In these later months of the year the chief immediate cause of disquiet in the Church was the problem of the Hitler Youth. What should be the attitude of the Church to the national organization of youth? On October 10th Monsignor Wolker and Dr. Stange, the leader of the Evangelical Youth Association, met with representatives of the Government to discuss the situation. The official report of the meeting⁷ indicated that the Confessional Associations had expressed their desire to co-operate with the Government,

¹ Horkenbach, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 380.

² *Ib.*, p. 325.

³ *Ib.*, p. 336.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 332, 338.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 396.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 405.

⁷ Quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1933, p. 283.

but asked to be given their own special field within the national organization. It was agreed that pressure should not be put upon young people to change from one group to another, but the denominational leaders were quite ready to recognize the precedence of the Hitler Youth. Harmonious co-operation was the clearly expressed wish of both parties.

The Catholic account of the interview¹ stresses the express intention of the Government to fulfil its obligations under the Concordat for the protection of recognized Church Associations; agreement had been reached that the various Youth Associations, the Hitler Youth, the Catholic, the Evangelical, the Sport, and the vocational Youth Movements, should stand side by side, but that the Hitler Youth should have the place of honour. It was agreed further that there should be a good and friendly relationship between the various groups, and on the Government side stress was laid upon the principle that it was not in the interests of the Hitler Youth to put any pressure upon the young to leave their denominational associations. The Catholic movement undertook on its side to do everything possible 'to fulfil its special religious task within the whole German Youth-work and to co-operate in the common work according to the wishes of the Führer (*im Sinne des Führers*)'. It was understood that the question of a double membership in two associations would be reconsidered by the Government.

It is not plain how far the Government was sincere in this conversation, for in the same month Baldur von Schirach openly said that in the new fellowship of the German people denominational differences were to be overcome and that national conviction must take the place of ecclesiastical conviction.² The sequel has made it very doubtful whether in the long run the Party would under any circumstances have consented to a partnership—however unequal—with the Church, and those Catholics were probably wiser who already saw that 'the task of the Catholic Youth Movement lies to-day in the field of the religious; in the first instance it

¹ *Märkische Volkszeitung*, October 14th, 1933.

² Cited in *Aufwärts*, November 29th, 1934; *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 55.

must be and remain a living, progressive, yes, revolutionary member of the young Church'.¹

But the Government with the election in view was pursuing a conciliatory policy. On October 1st Rudolf Hess, who in April had become the Führer's deputy, founded under the leadership of von Papen a Workers' Association of Catholic Germans;² this was to be intimately bound up with the Party, and, as in duty bound, it issued a summons to Catholics to vote for Herr Hitler at the election.³ The purpose of the new association, which received an expression of warm approval from Archbishop Gröber,⁴ was, as explained by von Papen,⁵ to bring the Church into active participation in the great struggle for the new upbuilding of People and Reich. Both in respect of the workers and the youth the Party would no doubt have much preferred gradually to assimilate and digest the Church rather than declare war upon it.

In September General Ludendorff's Tannenberg Fellowship was dissolved, nominally on political grounds,⁶ and in October the Union of Catholic Women Teachers was declared to be officially protected by the Concordat.⁷ There was peace qualified by anxiety till the election was over.

Von Papen is the tragic figure of these early days. It was he who was largely responsible for the Concordat, and he who sponsored the policy of the Church's active participation in the Revolution. He believed, or at least hoped, that the Party would respect the Concordat; he accepted the assurances of the Government that with the proper sphere of the Church it would never interfere, and that the basis of its policy was a 'positive' Christianity. There are still those amongst younger Catholics who wish that the Church would adopt a less critical and negative attitude to the Revolution, but for those who hoped with von Papen for an honourable

¹ *Wille und Werk*, October 5th, 1933.

² Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 436.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 575 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 442.

³ *Ib.*, p. 504.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 414.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 494. The Catholic Men's Teachers' Union 'voluntarily' dissolved itself in the latter part of the year. This made the capture of the Catholic schools so much the easier later on.

co-operation between Church and Party there has been only disillusionment.

The election past, the Government began at once to speak in clearer tones. On December 1st was passed a 'law for ensuring the unity of Party and State'. The Party was incorporated, and both the Führer's Deputy and the Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops were made members of the Government; the Party was declared to be 'inseparably bound up with the State as entrusted with (*Trägerin*) the German conception of the State'.¹ The *Völkischer Beobachter* observed that 'the National Socialist Party has itself to become the State. It was not the State as such which overcame the parties; National Socialism has achieved this for the State.' 'Party and State are one', said the *Deutsche Zeitung*.² Herr Röhm meant nothing different when he said that 'the State is the People, and the People is the State'.³ It is a common saying in the Party that *die Partei befiehlt, or kommandiert, dem Staat*, that is, the Party gives orders to the State.

Cardinal Faulhaber's prayer 'that the men at the head of the State do not come to say, "We are the State"',⁴ had not been granted. This law to ensure the unity of Party and State removes any seeming justification from the subterfuge that the utterances of Party leaders may not be treated as representing the mind of the Government. The Party and its organs may be permitted to go ahead of the Government, but we are justified in logic, in law, and in notorious fact when we quote Party leaders and Party organs as expressing the mind of the Government. The Party is intimately associated with the Government; it is officially declared to be the warden of the ideas of the Revolution, and any dissidence in any of its members would be followed by immediate expulsion. That 'the Party prepares the way, and the State is the executive' is a commonly accepted saying.⁵ This principle is of the first importance in an inquiry into the conflict between Church and State.

The period of apparent conciliation is over. On December

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 607 ff. ² *Ib.*, p. 609. ³ *Ib.*, p. 639. ⁴ *v. supra*, p. 85.

⁵ 'The politically responsible primacy', says Dr. Frank, 'lies with the Party; it is the Party that makes the State' (*Neues deutsches Recht*, p. 9).

7th Herr Rosenberg in his paper the *Völkischer Beobachter* uttered a warning against new voices that assumed the task of interpreting National Socialism; in other words, let not the Christians suppose that from within they could alter the accent and purpose of the Party. On December 9th the Prussian Ministry issued a list of books to be stocked by school book-shops; the list was headed by *Mein Kampf* and the *Mythus*.¹ On December 20th, the day when by what must be described as legalized trickery the whole of the Evangelical Youth Movement was incorporated in the Hitler Youth, the Secretary for the Interior declared² that 'the chief task of the school is the education of youth in the service of People and State in the spirit of National Socialism'. Further, it was decreed that in those schools where it was customary for lessons to begin and end with the interchange between pupils and teachers: 'Praised be Jesus Christ', 'For ever and ever. Amen,' in future 'Heil Hitler!' was to be substituted as a greeting.³ An alteration of this kind, when achieved, not by the petulance of some local schoolmaster, but by order of the Government, is of very great significance as to the spirit of the régime.

The Government had declared itself friendly to Christianity and had promised to protect the Church from malicious attack, but the unofficial propaganda of frank paganism was going on apace. How far this had the quiet approval of the Government was not yet plain. The anxiety of churchmen was reflected in the Advent Sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber in December.⁴ The first purpose of the sermons was to vindicate the place of the Old Testament, but on the vexed question of Race and Blood he observed that not by German blood are we redeemed.⁵ It must be realized that until the Revolution the Christians with educated persons generally had regarded the Nazis as little better than cut-throats and had neither taken seriously nor even read their literature.

¹ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 647.

² *Ib.*, p. 694.

³ *Ib.*, p. 695.

⁴ Published under the title of *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum* (Munich, Huber, 1934). English translation by G. D. Smith: *Judaism, Christianity and Germany* (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1934).

⁵ On the concept of Race v. P. W. Schmidt, *Rasse und Volk. Ihre allgemeine Bedeutung, ihre Gattung im deutschen Raum* (Salzburg, Anton Pustet, 2nd ed., 1935).

For the violence and truculence of the Party in power they were, perhaps, not wholly unprepared, but they had rapidly to learn that ideas which in the class-rooms of universities might appear sterile or ludicrous or self-contradictory became potent when espoused with a religious zeal by the Government and supported by every device of propaganda.

The year closed with two firm utterances of the Church outside the Reich. The Pope's Christmas message was couched in general terms, but the pastoral letter of the Austrian bishops denounced National Socialism in set terms; the German Concordat, they said, had not modified the judgement of churchmen upon the religious and ecclesiastical errors of the Movement. In particular, they denounced the Sterilization Law, the 'radical Anti-Semitism on the basis of Race', and the 'extreme nationalism'; the priests, they claimed, have the right and duty to influence public life.¹ The *Völkischer Beobachter* called this pastoral letter 'an open attempt at sabotage against inner peace in Germany'.² Sabotage was a word constantly to be used in future against the Christians.

¹ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 705.

² *Ib.*

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (*cont.*)

1934

WHEN we pass to 1934 we lose the day-to-day record of Cuno Horkenbach and are thrown back, so far as written authority is concerned, chiefly upon the scanty records of the Press. In June of this year the Röhm revolt was put down with violence. The Purge, as it is called, had a direct effect upon the Church conflict, for the occasion of the political crisis was taken as suitable for the elimination of many who had not the remotest connexion with Herr Röhm. In particular, the episode marks the downfall of von Papen. Herr Bose and Herr Junge, two of his secretaries, were shot; his Workers' Fellowship of German Catholics ceased to be; several of its leaders, such as Graf Thun, von Savigny, and Herr Tserschky, were imprisoned. With the fall of von Papen the earlier possibility or hope of mediation between Church and Party disappeared. It was during these days that Dr. Klausner, the head of Catholic Action in Berlin, was murdered.

On August 2nd the aged President von Hindenburg died. At the funeral, after the sermon of the Protestant pastor, Herr Hitler saluted his chief: 'Dead General, go now to Valhalla!' In the closing part of the year the Government was preoccupied with the hope of the Saar plebiscite which was drawing near. The Church struggle went on for the most part behind the scenes; there are few events of general significance to record.

From the Church's point of view the two most urgent problems of the year were the increasing propaganda of paganism and the relation of the Catholic young people to the Hitler Youth. National Socialism revealed to all the world its inner policy and meaning when on January 24th Hitler nominated Herr Rosenberg as his plenipotentiary for *Weltanschauung* or National Socialist philosophy of life. On February 9th the Pope responded by putting the *Mythus* on the Index. This did not mean that co-operation between

Church and State was no longer possible; it meant, however, that the Pope would not permit the faithful even to read that book which, with *Mein Kampf*, might be called the Bible of the National Socialist Movement. Many in the Church have desired, and still desire, to distinguish between National Socialism as a political form and National Socialism as a philosophy or religion, and to repudiate the latter while they accept the former. It is, no doubt, possible to distinguish in practice between laudable and unworthy acts of the Government, but, as responsible ministers made clear in every speech, there could be no acceptance of National Socialism that was not an acceptance of its basic ideas. No doubt some of the older folk who had been brought up in other ways would to the end give no more than passive consent to the Party, but with the youth it should be otherwise. Baldur von Schirach declared explicitly later in the year that the Hitler Youth would march out beyond all the particular mystifications of the denominations; 'the way of Rosenberg', he said 'is to be the way of German youth'.¹ Throughout the year, there were repeated disclaimers of the charge that the Government would interfere in matters of religion or depart from a policy of neutrality;² but Herr Hitler had himself declared more than ten years before that for himself he knew no God but Germany;³ the logic of National Socialism as a faith was inconsistent with toleration of anything but a purely esoteric piety; Herr Rosenberg was plenipotentiary in respect of 'philosophy of life' for the nation; Baldur von Schirach was at the head of the Hitler Youth, and Dr. Goebbels was responsible for Propaganda. It was not surprising that the Church was little reassured.

Early in the year Cardinal Schulte of Cologne saw Herr Hitler on the matter of the future destiny of the Catholic

¹ *Aufwärts*, November 29th, 1934; *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 55.

² e.g. Dr. Frick in Dresden (*Berliner Börsenzeitung*, May 31st, 1934); General Goring on June 18th in Potsdam (*Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 556); Herr Hitler on August 18th at Hamburg and on August 27th in his address to the people of the Saar (*Junge Kirche*, 1934, pp. 713 f.); Julius Streicher on October 17th (*ib.*, p. 907).

³ *Bayerischer Kurier*, No. 142, May 25th, 1923, quoted in E. Schlund, *Orientierung* (Hildesheim, Lax-Verlag, 1931), p. 418.

Youth Associations;¹ the interview lasted for two hours; this, however, would not be taken by those who have experience of Herr Hitler's 'interviews' to imply that the Cardinal had full opportunity to plead his case. At the end of February the Cardinal thought it necessary to address the faithful of his archdiocese upon the new heathenism of the day.²

It is heathenism and apostasy from Christ and Christianity [he said] to see the essential element in religion only in the requirements of alleged Blood and Race. . . . It is heathenism and apostasy from Christ and Christianity that a man should declare to-day that 'Blood and Honour' should alone determine the meaning of our earthly life, that for the sacred means of grace, which our divine Redeemer instituted for our salvation and vouchsafes to us through his Church, there could be substituted the maintenance of a particular kind of human blood in its purity, I mean, by the so-called mystery of Nordic blood. It is heathenism and apostasy from Christ and Christianity . . . if people are no longer willing to be told that we are all sinful children of Adam in need of redemption through Christ and his sacred blood. We may observe that in these words the Cardinal is not attacking the frank heathenism of General Ludendorff nor the pagan aberrations of the so-called 'German Faith Movement' of Professor Hauer. He is directly attacking the fundamental and inalienable principles of National Socialism itself as expounded by its official protagonists and in particular by Herr Rosenberg. From a theological point of view Cardinal Schulte was amply justified, but the term 'heathen' rankled, for National Socialists, when they are not claiming that National Socialism in itself constitutes their religion, are eager to assert that National Socialism is 'positive' or authentic or 'real' Christianity. The Party would gladly exorcise Christ in the Name of Christ.

In his Easter letter to the Catholic Youth Associations of Germany the Pope formally identified himself with the view that the German propaganda was aimed to draw youth from Christ to heathenism and promised them his full support.³

So acute was the situation that the bishops' joint pastoral

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 173.

² *Kirchlicher Anzeiger für die Erzdiözese Köln*, March 1st, 1934.

³ *Kirchliche Rundschau für Rheinland und Westfalen*, April 15th, 1934.

letter issued on June 7th was not permitted to be read from the pulpit, and those Church papers that ventured to reproduce it were confiscated by the police. The letter complained that in newspapers and pamphlets, in word and in picture, 'the Church and her servants are attacked and insulted, Christ, our Saviour, is defamed, and despite is done to the eternal Majesty of God'; it further protested against the setting up of Herr Rosenberg's *Mythus* as a text-book of education and as the basis of national thought and instruction; it spoke of 'influential circles' which in spite of all assurances from the Government were set upon the extirpation of Christianity and to which the Catholic Press was not given freedom to reply.¹ On June 26th Herr Hitler promised the bishops that he would stop the new heathen propaganda,² but the Church's concern was less with the open heathenism of such men as General Ludendorff than with the intrinsic heathenism of the philosophy of Race, Blood, and Soil; National Socialism, as was becoming ever more clear, was in itself a form of 'heathenism'.

But is it fair to take at its face value such an *ex parte* statement as the bishops' pastoral? Is there not some reason for thinking that theological disagreement was the cloak for political disaffection? Speaking in Hamburg on August 17th Herr Hitler said:

The National Socialist State is committed to positive Christianity. I shall sincerely strive to protect the two great Christian denominations in the enjoyment of their rights, to shield them from attacks in their teaching.

Addressing the people of the Saar ten days later he said:

I know that here too I shall have to meet the charge from certain quarters that we have departed from Christianity. No, it is not we but those that came before us who made this departure. We have merely made a clear cut division between politics that has to deal with the affairs of this world and religion that is concerned with the affairs of another world. . . . National Socialism is neither anti-ecclesiastical nor anti-religious. On the contrary, it rests upon a basis of genuine (*wirkliches*) Christianity.³

¹ *Hitler gegen Christus*, pp. 54 ff.

² Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³ *Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 713.

Similarly Dr. Rust, who this year was made Minister for Science, Art, and Popular Education, said in a speech on June 25th: 'We have not fought in order to erect heathen temples. . . . We have no desire to build temples against the Christian churches or to substitute Valhalla for the Christian heaven.' A month later he said, 'The tasks of the National Socialist State are other than those of the Christian Churches, but the two are in no way in mutual opposition'.¹

We have statement and counterstatement. Not merely foreigners but Germans themselves were perplexed, and the situation was undoubtedly confused. I believe that the following considerations give a fair impression of the situation at this time: (a) Herr Hitler was himself involved in a contradiction, of which, being no logician, he may well have been unaware. He was maintaining, on the one hand, that religion has nothing to do with the affairs of this world, and, on the other, that the National Socialist State rested upon 'positive' or 'real' Christianity. No doubt he was thinking in the one case of Church dogma and in the other of mutual help and a spirit of comradeship, but his attitude, to put it as kindly as possible, was 'lay' to the point of *naïveté*. (b) The leaders of National Socialism, not being themselves Christians, had no kind of wish to quarrel with the Christian Church provided that the Church would not interfere with the work and aims of National Socialism. (c) The Party leaders being practical men engaged upon a colossal task of national reconstruction had no desire to set up as religious reformers or innovators; they wished rather to summon to their assistance the immense emotional and moral resources of the Christian Church. (d) Much of the country was already alienated from the Christian faith, and a not negligible section of the Party was violently anti-Christian. (e) The Party leaders, while for the most part they did not regard themselves as anti-Christian, were strongly anti-Church, because the Church was, with the partial exception of the Army, the only organized element in the national life which had not been completely brought to heel by the Revolution. (f) The effective ideas of the Revolution, as expressed in *Mein Kampf*

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 714.

and the *Mythus*, were not in themselves Christian and in practice implied zealous propagation of what was in fact a new and pagan religion, a syncretism to which historic Christianity was a relatively small contributor. (*g*) This current paganism was taking many forms, from the Christianized version of the 'German Christians' to the frankly racial religion of Dr. Hauer, but the fundamental ideas of Race, Blood, and Soil conceived as basic principles or dominant categories of national and religious thinking were everywhere being pressed—through radio, picture-house, school, Youth Movement, and journalism—as integral to true National Socialism, to the thought of every authentic German, and to political reliability. Meanwhile (*h*) any criticism of National Socialism on the part of priests laid them open to arrest; the official publishing house of the Party issued in *Das Schwarze Korps* constant embittered attacks on Christianity and the Church; paganism and frank heathenism might express themselves freely while the Christians had no freedom to reply; even the official pastoral letter of the bishops to their own people might not be printed or read from the pulpits, the Concordat notwithstanding; the organization of the Church was largely wrecked; and it was made ever clearer that Christianity, whether in its Catholic or Evangelical form, was not to play any part in influencing the new life of the country. The situation varied very much in different parts of Germany; a masterful bishop here or a more friendly District Leader (or even *Kreisleiter*) there might preserve a particular territory from much of the onslaught, and we are dealing as yet with tendency rather than with accomplished fact. But substantially and fundamentally, as all the subsequent story tends to vindicate, the complaint of the bishops was fully justified. Germany was being systematically heathenized under the influence of the régime and as a direct result of its principles and propaganda.

As evidence of the fairest and least controvertible kind I would adduce the so-called *Schulungsbrief*, which began to be published monthly in this year. This magazine is strictly official;¹ it is not available to the general public but only

¹ It is issued by the *Reichsschulungsamt der NSDAP und der deutschen Arbeitsfront*.

to members of the Party, the Labour Front, and allied organizations; it represents the point of view which the Government wishes to propagate through the Party.

The magazine is not easily to be obtained, and I have before me only five numbers from this year. We should scarcely expect in journalism of this kind any defence of Christianity; mere silence about religious issues would be intelligible, and in fact these pages are not much concerned with matters of religion, but what we do find of this sort is of much significance. The June number contains a first article in large print on the celebration of the summer solstice:

On June 21st at midnight the youth of Germany gathers together, ascends the mountains and peaks and kindles the fires. The flames blaze to high heaven and illuminate the valleys far below—far and wide over the land wherever German men are living. Youth greets youth, blood greets blood and fire greets fire. Yesterday and to-morrow. It is the summer solstice. Such is our custom, such was it, such shall it be in future. From year to year. And in the times to come more than ever. But this is the most important element in our nocturnal hour of festival: it is the oldest festal custom that has come down to us from our early ancestors who lived at a time when the first beams of German history lightened out of the darkness of mythology. . . . Through unnumbered centuries the fires blazed. Through millennia. They blazed up to the time of a new faith, which made its entry into the land of our fathers bringing troubles and bitterness, which let the old gods die, out of which a new thing grew, great and powerful; for the old blood remained strong even in the change of times which were otherwise. But when all seemed forgotten, one thing remained: the summer solstice. When, too, the new spirit kept watch over the land, when it broke up old customs and fashioned new, when civilization, too, collapsed, and the old stones and the meeting places of the Moot lay waste and were overgrown with weeds, when the tribes of the sacred oaks were rotting in decay, when churches and monasteries arose, one thing remained, the summer solstice!—For Nature remained. Death and Life remained, day and night. And the blood remained, the old blood, and therewith its eternal value, heroic battle! . . . Then the evening of the German Middle Ages fell. True, its light gleamed blood-red and golden still through the centuries. But measured by eternity these were but paltry hours. Then it was night. It may be

that there were now times when the summer solstice was no more than a peasants' festival taken over from tradition . . . but the period in which that happened was barren of Idea and of great faith.¹

If National Socialism were but a romantic movement eager to revive folk-customs, the Church would have no quarrel, but this is the undisguised demand that Germany go back to her pre-Christian rites as she emerges from the darkness of the Christian era.

The August number contains a long article on 'the fate of the Nordic Race through two millennia'. This is not primarily concerned with matters ecclesiastical, but we learn that the introduction of Christianity brought about 'a widespread destruction of the best Nordic blood', and that 'celibacy and the cloister decimated the best families in the land'. The suggestion that the coming of Christ to Germany brought any blessing is conspicuously absent. The Nazis are sublimely delivered from a strict historical sense; very significant in this connexion is an observation by a school leader, Helmuth Buck, in a neighbouring article: 'You must always be conscious that National Socialism is no science but an inward experience of the individual.'

To the September number Herr Rosenberg contributes an article full of his romantic call to the Germans to live according to their deep inward instinct and to trust to their 'original will'. 'The National Socialist philosophy does not declare any universal principle that comes down to men from above, but, on the contrary, lays the foundations of an organic growth.' The Church, primarily through the religious orders, has been a baleful influence in German history. The heroic music of National Socialism comes to triumph over 'the malaise of a distorted spiritual experience'. The great national festivals of the Reich give expression to 'all the high spiritual values'.

This same number contains an article on the care of the People, and the October number another on the care of the Race as illustrated by National Socialist legislation. The decline in the birth-rate, it is claimed, has been due primarily

¹ v. also the *Schulungsbrief* for June 1937, where the religious nature of the summer rite is stressed (p. 213).

to individualism, rationalism, and an exaggerated humanitarianism, all of which must be transcended.

There is an aspect of life which, when horses, for instance, fall to be considered, may be deemed of primary importance, and none could question the right of the German Government to discuss the human aspect of breeding with more freedom than is customary amongst the British. But when in a nation the physical aspect of life is almost exclusively considered, and the cult of the race, physically regarded, would gather to itself the sentiment or, perhaps rather, the emotions of religion, the danger to higher civilization is as manifest as is the implicit attack upon the Christian values. The Christian faith is virtually attacked where, as here, it is maintained that the first and last duty of a German woman is to bear as many healthy children as she can.

The December number opens with a brief article in enormous type upon the festival of Yule. This was 'the highest and holiest festival among the ancient Germans'. It was the festival of the winter solstice. An important element in the Yule feast was the veneration of dead kinsmen, but in particular three deities were honoured, Freyr, god of light and warmth, Wodan, god of wisdom and also of the wild hunt, and Freya, goddess of love and procreation. These three mirrored in Germanic feeling the three great notes of life. 'The Christmas festival, like the Yule festival of the ancient Germans, is for the modern German, whether consciously or unconsciously, the solemn acknowledgement (*Bekanntnis*) of Strength, that Strength which apart from transcendental theories hides within itself redemption from the eternal sin of the weak. . . . The great feeling of Strength vouchsafed to us by God sheds abroad in us the peace of the consecrated night.'¹ Is this 'positive' Christianity or, as the Church said, 'heathenism'?

¹ Similarly on December 22nd, in the *Deutscher*, the daily paper of the German Labour Front (since 1935 united with the *Angriff*), District Leader Kube wrote:

The Christmas Festival in German lands is not the invention of a Christian Church but a world-old custom of our forefathers. The day of the winter solstice was sacred with our fathers. . . . For us, too, the Christian Christmas Festival remains a festival of German love, of the German spirit (*Eigenart*) and of German benevolence.

In this connexion it will not be deemed unfair if I take also the first two numbers of 1935. The leading article of the January issue says:

Externally, politically regarded the Revolution is ended. But the struggle for the German soul proceeds and must proceed, if we are to succeed in erecting upon the foundation walls we have now laid the German fortress of the Grail, strong enough to outlast the storm of whole centuries. Not the creation of material values is the most important task of the warlike generation of our days that has gathered itself together in the organization of the Party, rather it is the awakening of the German racial consciousness, the new birth of the German soul through the realization that our living blood is the great sacred stream which binds us with the deeds of our forefathers and with posterity. . . . Destiny has set us in a time that has seen the birth of a great Idea, an Idea that did not fall fortuitously from the stars but was formed by an iron will out of a divine spark. Ours it is to be ambassadors of this Idea, examples of a new type of German man. The work that we began we will accomplish. Thus one day the future shall see upraised over our graves a proud, exalted monument such that history cannot show the like: the eternal Kingdom of the Germans!

There follows an article on familiar lines by Herr Rosenberg on the new valuation of German history.

In the February number the most important article, after a few pages of facsimile from the diary of Horst Wessel, is entitled 'the battle about German pre-history'. It concludes with a frank rejection of Christian civilization. The coming of a 'foreign spiritual force', namely Christianity, we read, enslaved the German peasantry. Scholasticism was largely an Arabic-Jewish product of Spain. 'The victory of the arising National Socialism was bound to be at the same time a victory of German pre-history.'

This apparent digression from our story is not irrelevant. In 1934 the struggle was one of ideas rather than of events. The bishops declared that the Church was being vilified and Germany heathenized. This was indignantly denied. Both sides could produce a case, for there was no homogeneity about the situation, and to this day any general and unqualified

statement about the situation is almost necessarily inaccurate; but, if we look below the surface, there can be little doubt that the bishops were in the right. Herr Hitler might claim quite sincerely that there was no interference with religion, but by religion in this context he would mean the private religious opinions of individuals and the Church's public worship. He might claim, possibly with sincerity, that the social achievements and ideals of National Socialism may be identified with Christianity as he understood it, but his understanding was not deep. He certainly claimed that any type of Christianity that would interfere with the affairs of this world in ways out of harmony with his policy was no true Christianity but disguised political disaffection. His reassuring speeches were for public consumption and were not necessarily pitched in the same key as his own private Ordensburg orations or the tirades of his devoted but less responsible followers. We are more securely guided to the realities of the situation by these private papers officially issued to the Party than by speeches which, in view of the imminence of the plebiscite in the Saar, a predominantly Catholic territory, must do all that was possible to placate and win the Catholic vote.

In October the Church's answer to Herr Rosenberg's *Mythus* was published in the form of *Studien*.¹ It was devastating, but 'you must always be conscious that National Socialism is no science but an inward experience of the individual'. The quiet exposure of bizarre theories and historical ineptitudes must have sounded, or failed to sound, like the recitation of Wordsworth at an American baseball match. Those who were attempting to think with their blood would be little impressed by a document addressed solely to the head.

Of legislation and decrees that concerned the Church there is not very much to report of 1934. In April it was officially ordained that no man might be at once a member of the

¹ *Studien zum Mythus des XX. Jahrhunderts: 1/11, Kirchengeschichtlicher und biblischer Teil mit Epilogen* (Amtsblatt des bischöflichen Ordinariats, Berlin). Also *Zum Eckehart-Problem* (Kirchlicher Anzeiger für die Erzdiözese Köln). Also *Grundfragen der Lebensauffassung und Lebensgestaltung, fünfter Teil* (Amtsblatt des bischöflichen Ordinariats Berlin.—This fifth section did not appear till June 1935).

German Labour Front and a member of any artisan or vocational Church association.¹ In November there was an ordinance gravely restricting the publication of Church news in ecclesiastical journals.² In the same month there was a significant change in paragraph 166 of the Blasphemy Law. It now became an offence under this law 'coarsely to outrage the feelings of the People'.³ What this new provision might involve only time could show. The great popular Catholic association, the *Volksverein*, with its 450 groups and some 30,000 members was dissolved by the police, and its funds were confiscated.⁴

At the end of the year the Church was still gravely exercised about the Hitler Youth. At the Don Bosco Festival at Stuttgart Bishop Sproll made an important speech.⁵ Why, he asked, was the Catholic Youth Movement still looking askance at the Hitler Youth? For himself, he said, he would in principle gladly see one single national Youth Movement, but under the present circumstances his conscience could not consent to it. He spoke of the propaganda of the new heathenism, of the over stressing of the national in the Hitler Youth and the depreciation of the religious, and of recent utterances of Baldur von Schirach.⁶ When the national Youth Leader said that religious education should be supported as an addendum to political education, he showed his failure to understand the essential nature of Christianity; so long as he continued to say that the way of Rosenberg must be the way of the youth of Germany, so long must Catholics hold aloof. The Concordat gave that option, and they must take it.

The bishop's protest seems to have met with some response. On November 30th the Press office of the Hitler Youth in the district Schlesien announced that there was no truth in the rumours of any connexion between the Hitler Youth and the German Faith Movement of Dr. Hauer; on the contrary, members of the Hitler Youth Movement would be given

¹ *Nationalsozialistische Korrespondenz*, July 22nd, 1935; *Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 376.

² *Ib.*, 1935, p. 42.

³ *Taglicher Nachrichtendienst*, November 20th, 1934.

⁴ *Osservatore Romano*, July 10th, 1938. ⁵ *Aufwärts*, November 29th, 1934.

⁶ *v. supra*, pp. 97, 103. Cf. pp. 114, 123, 125.

every opportunity to fulfil their ecclesiastical obligations.¹ From the Rhineland and other places came similar disclaimers.² But no local regulations permitting the Hitler Youth to attend Church could weigh seriously against Baldur von Schirach's speech on November 5th. Amid loud applause, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, he gave the assurance in the name of youth that Rosenberg's way was likewise the way of German youth.

We are concerned [he said] with a totalitarian claim. I fail to see why there should be sectional, denominational fellowships beside the Hitler Youth. . . . We cannot abandon the principle that all youth belongs to us. We shall keep this goal inexorably before us, and shall overthrow all opposition. For the rest I refrain from defining the programme of the Hitler Youth in any formula or series of propositions; it is summed up in one person, Adolf Hitler.³

It is very possible that there was some struggle within the party as to policy with regard to the Church and her youth, but there could be no question as to the implications of the National Socialist philosophy or as to the intentions of its most responsible leaders.

If there was relative peace at the end of the year in view of the coming plebiscite in the Saar, there was no real slackening of the tension and no prospect of an ultimate accommodation. In the pages of the Paris *Figaro* Signor Mussolini offered a significant warning to Herr Hitler:⁴

The whole history of Western civilization [he said] from the time of the Roman Empire to the present day, from Diocletian to Bismarck, teaches us that whenever there is a conflict between the State and religion it is always the State that loses the battle. A battle against religion is a battle against the imponderable. It is open warfare against the spirit, at the point where the spirit is deepest and most inward. It is proven to-day that in the course of such a battle even the sharpest weapons at the disposal of the State are ineffectual mortally to wound the Church. The Church, and more especially the Catholic Church, emerges from the bitterest battles unchanged and victorious.

¹ *Berliner Tageblatt*, November 30th, 1934.

² *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 56. Cf. for the *Bund deutscher Mädel*, ib., p. 101.

³ Cited in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 56 f. ⁴ *Germania*, December 23rd, 1934.

But Herr Hitler has proved deaf to these kindly admonitions. He could not listen. Signor Mussolini is a politician who speaks of 'the State'; Herr Hitler speaks normally, not of the State, but of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, the fellowship of the People; Nation and People are for him sacred values; *Volksgemeinschaft* is for him a religious concept. Hence in Italy there is tension between Church and State, in Germany there is warfare between two Churches.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (*cont.*)

1935

THE year 1935 saw a clearing of the issues and an intensification of the struggle. The first two months were relatively quiet, for nothing must be done to alarm the Christians of the Saar. On January 9th District Leader Bürckel, the Führer's plenipotentiary for the Saar District, declared to the representatives of the home and foreign Press that there was no such thing in Germany as a *Kulturkampf*. Herr Hitler, he said, aimed at an unbreakable fellowship of the whole People; 'such an unbreakable fellowship of the whole People is not to be forged by means of the *Kulturkampf* and the Concentration Camp; that is the way to split a nation; the era of the Thirty Years War is over'.¹ Three days later Herr Hitler expressed his full concurrence with these admirable sentiments.²

At the beginning of the year Archbishop Gröber had made a comparatively hopeful speech,³ and about the same time Baldur von Schirach, while maintaining the ruling that membership of a denominational Youth Association was incompatible with membership in the Hitler Youth, offered some kind of compromise by the suggestion that members of denominational Youth Associations might be adopted as 'guests' of the Hitler Youth.⁴ Dr. Goebbels, doubtless to the astonishment of his audience, brought himself to utter an almost pious speech in which he explained how 'Almighty God' had marvellously led and defended Herr Hitler, and complained that the Centre Party had made 'our Lord God an enrolled party-member', a form of insurance which the National Socialist Party, trusting to its own strength, found unnecessary.

But even in these quiet days there were ominous signs. In January the Christian public was shocked by the appearance on the stage of the violently anti-Christian play *Wittekind*,

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 86.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 12th, 1935.

³ *Postzeitung*, June 5th, 1935.

⁴ *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 101.

by Edmund Kiss,¹ which, however, was slightly modified in regard to outraged feeling.² Further, the Peasants' Calendar for 1935, apparently issued under official sanction, was brought to the notice of Church leaders. This calendar substituted heathen commemorations for the great days of the Church's year; thus Ash Wednesday became Ash Wotans-day, Ascension Day the day when Thor fetched his hammer, Christmas Eve the birthday of Baldur god of Light, Easter the festival of Ostara, of the sun-rising in the East, the spring time. Nothing clearly takes the place of Pentecost, but the Day of the Three Kings becomes the day of the three Aesir. On June 29th the feast of Tiu supplants the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. The exhortation for Good Friday runs as follows: 'Think of the 4,500 Saxons murdered by Charles the Slaughterer and of the nine million other soldiers of justice, heroes of faith, heretics and witches murdered, racked to death and burnt.'³ The coming of Christianity to Germany, so the calendar explains to the peasants, 'overthrew law, did despite to faith and ruined the race'; it brought slavery and oppression to those who had been free.⁴ It is true that Walther Darré, the responsible Minister, explained later that the proof-reading had been done by another, and that he was not personally responsible,⁵ but the halting apology was no real repudiation of this purely heathen document issued by a Government office.

It is not surprising, then, to find that in February Professor Hauer was hoping and even expecting that his heathen 'German Faith Movement' would be adopted by Herr Hitler and the Party as the national religion; he felt himself in a position to announce that 'the end of the denominational school is in sight. With the separation of Church and State the full triumph of the German Faith Movement will be settled'; he anticipated the accession of Herr Hitler to the

¹ *Ibid.*, 1935, pp. 178-80.

² *Das Evangelische Deutschland*, February 24th, 1935.

³ *Das Katholische Kirchenblatt* (Berlin), January 6th and 13th, 1935. We may note, as an instance of the adaptability of history, that since Herr Hitler's Nurnberg speech in 1936 the credit of Charles the Slaughterer has been restored: *v. infra*, p. 227.

⁴ *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 177.

⁵ *Kreuz-Zeitung*, March 8th, 1935.

ranks of its supporters.¹ Dr. Hauer gloried in the name of heathen in reminiscence of Nietzsche's saying, 'It would always be possible that the Germans should make an honorific title of their old nick-name "heathen" by becoming the first non-Christian nation in Europe'. Cardinal Schulte caused a protest to be read from all the pulpits of the Cologne churches.² A similar protest, though in more general terms, was made by the leaders of the Evangelical Church.³

On February 21st the *Pössnecke Zeitung* announced a 'public festival of divine worship for German youth on Friday, February 22nd at 8 p.m. in the parish Church'. It was explained that young and old would be welcome, that there would be a string-orchestra and readings from the poetical works of Baldur von Schirach. 'In this act of worship', said the announcement, 'the idea of the unity of faith in God and faith in the swastika will be proclaimed. In our fidelity to the flag of Adolf Hitler must we give proof of our fidelity to God.' The *Pössnecke Zeitung* of February 23rd gave a full account of this still novel type of public worship. In itself this event would be undeserving of record, but it marks the beginnings of the pseudo-religious cult of National Socialism, and points forward to the 'political Church' which leaders were to proclaim in 1937.

On March 1st patriotism triumphed over religious disquietudes, and the Saar territory 'returned home'. A week later or, to be quite accurate, on March 9th the attack on the Church under the Currency Laws began.

It is not possible or necessary to give a full account of this tidal wave of disaster which from now onwards through many months overwhelmed the Church. Only a lawyer, expert in this particular field, could give an adequate exposition of the German Currency Laws and the innumerable regulations which accompanied them; there is no summary of them available in English or in German. It is very important, however, for our present purpose that in general the significance of these trials be made plain.

¹ *Märkische Volkszeitung*, February 21st, 1935.

² *Germania*, February 22nd, 1935.

³ *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 271 ff.

It will be readily understood that during the War and the inflation period, that is, over a period of some ten years, the houses and institutions of the German charitable or educational religious Orders fell into disrepair; their funds were lost, and their medical equipment was out of date. The Weimar Republic, which claimed to be a Social Welfare State, was deeply interested in the recovery of these institutions; they were given immunity from taxation and other help. From 1926 onwards a stream of money, loaned to the Orders from abroad, flowed into Germany. As is well known, foreign bankers commended these loans on two grounds: first that they were a safe investment bringing in some 8-10 per cent. interest, and, second, that a further security was involved in the fact that technically the money was lent, not to the German province of the Order, but to the whole Order, of which the head-quarters were usually outside Germany. There was the further advantage that the money was loaned for charitable purposes.

When the world economic crisis began and led in 1931 to the menacing breakdown of the German financial system, the German currency legislation began. It was much developed when the advent to power of Herr Hitler led to the danger of the loss of all foreign trade, gold funds, and foreign currency, which were the support of the national finances. On June 8th, 1933, a law was passed¹ to the effect that no foreign loans might be privately repayed; all foreign currency had to be delivered to the *Devisenbank*; foreign currency was to be used in the first instance to pay for the imports of food and raw materials and only in the second place for the repayment of loans and credits and for the payment of interest which, as Germany claimed not without some justification, was often unduly high. Further, all repayment of foreign creditors by the export of German currency was

¹ Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 247. At the same time another law was passed 'against treason to the national economy' (ib., p. 248). Other regulations and enactments followed; the Act of February 4th, 1935, codified those that preceded it (*Reichsgesetzblatt*, i, s. 105; cf. Horkenbach, op. cit., 1933, p. 778). But, such was the confusion and complication of German finances that between the beginning of September and November 9th, 1935, no fewer than 26 new regulations were announced (*Finanz und Wirtschaft*, November 11th, 1935).

prohibited. This was necessary to prevent the complete collapse of the German currency system.

The inevitable result was that the shares in the foreign loans to Germany sank heavily—even more than German notes and bills supported by the German currency. It was a great temptation, therefore, to the religious Orders, conscious of a moral duty to repay their loans and burdened by the withdrawal of privileges and the increase of taxation, either to allow German currency to be exported by the German province or to repay the loans from the administrative head-quarters of the Order which recouped themselves, as it were within the family, from the German province. It may seem obvious that the direct export of German currency to meet foreign loans was plainly contrary to the law, but in the second case, where the head-quarters of the Order repaid the loan, and the German province recouped head-quarters, the transaction might be rather a matter of book-keeping than of actual payment. The whole mass of these Currency Laws and regulations was so complicated that only specialist lawyers understood it, and it is easily credible that those who were no financial experts might make these book-keeping arrangements without apprehending that any breach of the law would be involved.

The economic position of the Orders had deteriorated since the advent of Herr Hitler to power, and they were the more anxious in a time of great insecurity to be free both from their debts and the obligations of a high rate of interest. For many there was a genuine conflict of conscience between the obligation on the one side to repay debts and keep their work going, and on the other to keep the law. Normally, the obligation to keep the law would have been regarded as primary, but we must remember that the laws had been very badly drafted, that the legal situation was intensely obscure owing to constant alterations or supplementary decrees and regulations, and that this legislation was not recognized in foreign courts.¹ Conscience is not bound in cases of genuine uncertainty, and apparently even *Das*

¹ Cf. the decision of the New York State Supreme Court reported in *The Times*, August 25th, 1938.

Schwarze Korps, emphatically no friendly witness, testified that the accused had acted with a quiet conscience.¹

Every business man in Germany knows that breaches of the Currency Laws were widespread, the great companies being very often the culprits—not to speak of members of the Party! When a breach of these laws was suspected, the State authorities (*Devisenstellen*) had the option of three courses. They could deal directly with the offender and fine him; or they could bring a case before the *Reichswirtschaftsgericht*, a special court which sat in secret and could inflict fines; or finally they might, and in certain cases must, report the matter to the Government official corresponding with the Attorney-General. In this last case conviction might lead to imprisonment by order of the criminal courts.

We have to note the difference between the treatment of the Church and the treatment of secular offenders against these laws. As any one can see who studies the *Devisenarchiv*, the official record, at least 90 per cent. of the cases in which the religious Orders were involved might have been, and would normally have been, settled either directly with the officials or through the special court without any prosecution in the criminal courts. But the Party propaganda of defamation against the Church required that every case where the religious Orders were involved should become a matter of prosecution under the criminal law. The case is known of one great firm that was fined five million Reichsmarks privately and without any excitement in the public Press, but Church Sisters would be had before the criminal courts, and staring headlines about them would be blazoned in the Press, when the issue might concern no more than a few hundred marks.

It should be observed that the courts of appeal often greatly reduced the savage sentences of the lower courts; but, whereas the first judgements were advertised in large letters by the Press, the second judgements were reported either in a corner or not at all. The *Neue Züricher Zeitung* seems to have estimated that these trials cost the Church not less than six million marks,² but such an estimate should be accepted with great caution.

¹ May 29th, 1935.

² Quoted in *Hitler gegen Christus*, p. 134.

That these breaches of the law were deliberately used as an occasion to attack and defame and cripple the Church is so obvious that the Swiss paper *Finanz und Wirtschaft* wrote of the trials under the heading of 'the barbarism of the Currency proceedings'.¹ Indeed, this prosecution of the religious Orders before the criminal courts was in fact itself a breach both of the spirit and of the letter of the laws themselves; for it is expressly laid down that the responsible officials, the *Devisenstellen*, shall not report to the Attorney-General and proceed before the criminal courts, (a) unless the case be one where the defendant has with criminal intent personally enriched himself by the breach of the law, and (b) unless serious damage shall have been done to the German economic system. In the case of the religious Orders no question of personal gain arises; moreover, when the cases came to trial, in most instances defending counsel could prove, not merely that the defendant was without criminal intent, but also that the transactions had actually been for the benefit of the economic position of the State!

As a device for the defamation of the Church, these trials were a failure. This may be seen from the fact that since 1937 almost all the currency cases, even when the alleged offence took place between 1934 and 1936, have been settled either directly by the responsible officials or by the special court. It has to be freely admitted that in a few cases the members of the Orders accused had acted in a way that cannot be approved or even excused. These few cases might have filled the front pages of the Press for a day or two but not, as has been the case in this episode, for months and months on end.

For the purposes of the Saar Election it might seem well that Baldur von Schirach should hint at the possibility of some kind of associate membership in the Hitler Youth for some of the members of denominational associations, but on May 2nd his tune was very different. At a Party meeting he said:

The goal of the State's education of youth is to bring the unconscious youth to consciousness as a citizen and as entrusted

¹ November 14th, 1935.

with the idea of the State. . . . He who will not enter the Hitler Youth is not persecuted for his refusal; he has simply given it to be understood that he does not wish to co-operate in the work of the Führer. The denominational association in its present form is a fellowship of youth standing outside the State and denying the idea of the State. . . . Every Youth Association outside the Hitler Youth offends against the spirit of the fellowship which is the spirit of the State.¹

He was prepared, however, to consider the possibility of a double membership of the Hitler Youth and a denominational association on the understanding that the denominational association confined itself exclusively to the religious sphere 'in the sense of denominational pastoral care'.²

He had prepared the way for this suggestion by an earlier speech on March 31st, in which he had complained of the games organized by the Church for the Catholic youth: 'I ask you, my comrades, what has sport to do with religious persuasion? Have you ever seen a Catholic or an Evangelical sport?'³ Accordingly on July 23rd Herr Himmler, the head of the Secret Police, issued an order forbidding to denominational associations any participation in politics or sport; their members might wear no uniforms or badges, nor go on marches or tramps with or without flags and music;⁴ in fact, their activities were to be confined to the purely religious; thus, to-day, even the playing of ping-pong at Church youth gatherings is forbidden by the police.⁵

This was not the only kind of pressure put upon the Youth Associations of the Church. One Saturday evening in the spring 2,000 young Catholics crossing the frontier in fifty motor omnibuses after spending a fortnight in a pilgrimage to Rome were set upon by the Nazis and grossly mishandled; their musical instruments, their flasks, their rucksacks, their photographs were taken from them, and they were very roughly treated; some of these boys had been

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 3rd, 1935.

² *Ib.*

³ *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, April 1st, 1935.

⁴ Ordinance quoted in *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xx, 1937/8, pp. 54 ff.

⁵ The great gymnastic organization, *Deutsche Jugendkraft*, was suppressed in Baden on July 23rd, and its funds were confiscated. It was later suppressed throughout Germany (*Osservatore Romano*, July 10th, 1938).

quite active and keen National Socialists heretofore.¹ This was by no manner of means an isolated incident.² For a lad to belong to a Catholic Youth Association required of him both physical and moral courage of no mean order. He risked his educational prospects, his livelihood in the future as well as physical injury and the cold shoulder of all good patriots. Thus on October 9th Willy Becker, an official of the Party, declared that fathers and mothers who keep their children from the State's organizations for youth 'commit a crime against the German people and its future; they do not deserve the name of father and mother'. Later in his speech he said that in centuries to come a man with a right judgment of present events would come to say, as he looked back, 'Christ was great, but Adolf Hitler was greater'.³ 'It is necessary', said Dr. Rust, 'that every German young man grow up in the Hitler Youth.'⁴

Many in the Church would have been entirely willing that all the young people of the nation should be united in the Hitler Youth, thinking that the Church had hitherto followed too much a policy of segregation, and no doubt there were certain National Socialist Youth Leaders to whom Christians would gladly commit their children; but there could be no doubt that the whole tendency of the Hitler Youth, even where Church attendance was not made impossible, was to alienate the young people from the Church and indoctrinate them with the new nationalist religion. Thus one of the Hitler Youth leaders could declare, 'the Führer is our faith and National Socialism is our religion';⁵ in Bavaria the Hitler Youth was taught at Christmas or, rather, at the festival of the winter solstice, that it was idle to look for the star of Bethlehem or the wondrous birth, since 'in every new-born child God still comes into the world'.⁶ But more

¹ A long account culled from the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* is quoted in *Hitler gegen Christus*, p. 80.

² See further evidence quoted from the Press in *Hitler gegen Christus*, pp. 81-5.

³ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, October 10th, 1935.

⁴ *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 25th, 1935.

⁵ Oberbannführer Trautmann at Stendal (*Altmärkische Tageszeitung*, June 17th, 1935).

⁶ *Feier der Weihnacht*, published by the *Gaukulturamt* of the Bavarian Ostmark (*Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 34).

significant than such instances, which could be multiplied, was the well-defined religious position of the national Youth Leader, Baldur von Schirach. For himself, as he said, he had no interest in denominational questions;¹ rather, 'we suppose that in our service of our German People and their Führer we are at the same time serving Almighty God. We all hope that in virtue of our faith in God and our Leader and our Reich we may be enabled to stand before the eternal Judge of the world.' The battle for the unity of the People was a righteous and sacred cause; as for those who stood outside it, 'the Church may perhaps be with you, but with us is God'.² The impression that the State in these earlier months of 1935 was intensifying its efforts to realize throughout the nation its cultural, as distinct from its purely political, programme was enhanced by an article (written for foreign consumption) by Dr. Rust in the January number of *Hochschule und Ausland*. National Socialism as inevitably means a new Christianity (or new religion) as it means a new politics, a new writing of history, and even a new mathematics. The only question at issue, still not finally decided, was whether the new religion to be taught the Hitler Youth should be called Christianity or frankly be given another name.

In June Herr Rosenberg published his attempted answer to the criticisms of his *Mythus* under the title of *An die Dunkel-männer unserer Zeit* ('To the Obscurantists of Our Time').³ In his introduction he was at pains to explain that his theological ideas, his theories about the origin and history of Christianity, his criticisms of the Church, were not expressed in his official capacity as an officer of the Party. In a sense that is no doubt true. Theoretically Herr Hitler could repudiate any opinion uttered by Herr Rosenberg in these writings; but the Vice-District Leader Friedrich Schmidt undoubtedly expressed the exact truth when he said⁴ that while Herr Rosenberg's philosophy was his own, yet 'one thing stands sure, Rosenberg's exposition of the ideas of

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 3rd, 1935.

² *Ibid.*, June 3rd, 1935. See also *supra*, pp. 97, 103, 114, 123.

³ Munich, Hoheneichen-Verlag.

⁴ Quoted from *Germania* in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 278.

Blood and Race in the *Mythus* is the common treasure (*Gemeingut*) of the National Socialist Movement. He who understands that understands National Socialism and Adolf Hitler.' In March, accordingly, the public discussion of the *Mythus* was forbidden in Bavaria, lest it lead to a breach of the peace;¹ there was a police regulation in the Rhineland in April forbidding the Church to criticize the fundamentals of National Socialism;² in April a law was promulgated³ by which two lists of books were to be drawn up under the control of Drs. Goebbels and Rust; the first was to contain a list of books forbidden as endangering National Socialist culture; the second was to contain the titles of literature that was 'undesired' and was consequently to be unobtainable through the usual channels. In April Monsignor Leffers was condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment with costs for discussing the *Mythus* with three students who had come to consult him;⁴ this was under the Law against Malicious Attacks on State and Party.⁵ Herr Rosenberg's protest that his ideas were unofficial was a flimsy pretext covering the determination of the Party to indoctrinate the youth of the country with the philosophy of National Socialism. In May several Catholic papers were confiscated by the police for publishing the pastoral letter of the Prussian bishops.⁶

In July Herr Kerrl was appointed as minister to deal with all Church matters.⁷ This appointment concerned the Evangelical Church more closely than the Catholic Church. But the type of man chosen for this delicate office is a clear indication of the sort of 'Christianity' contemplated as suitable for the Third Reich by the Government. In the course of the year Herr Kerrl said that he confessed himself an Evangelical Christian, that 'churches and denominations have nothing to do with the practical things of life but only with faith',⁸

¹ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, March 15th, 1935.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 6th, 1935.

³ Text in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 465 ff.

⁴ *Kreuz-Zeitung*, April 13th, 1935.

⁵ *v. supra*, p. 87.

⁶ *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 484. *Junge Front* had already been suppressed in March (*ib.*, p. 279).

⁷ *Reichsgesetzblatt*, Teil 1, Nr. 80, July 18th, 1935.

⁸ On October 16th in Berlin before a distinguished gathering including members of the diplomatic corps (*Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 1029 ff).

and that 'the essence of National Socialism is faith, its act is love. Thus National Socialism is positive Christianity, the love of one's neighbour.'¹

These utterances of the new Church minister reflect agreeably the shocking confusion of the time. Like Herr Kerrl, the Government as a whole was maintaining throughout this year, (a) that National Socialism and religion do not meet, the one being concerned with this world, the other with the next; (b) that National Socialism is itself Christianity, authentic or 'positive' Christianity; and (c) that National Socialism is in itself not merely a policy and a philosophy but a religion also. Thus Dr. Goebbels declared at Saarbrücken on March 1st that 'the National Socialist State recognizes the task of the Church in its own sphere without qualification'.² At a Party meeting in June at Berlin he could say, 'we have proven our Christianity not only with words but also in deeds. We have fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty and shelter to the homeless.'³ In August he said:⁴

The National Socialist Movement stands, and will stand, upon the basis of a positive Christianity. But we wish and require that as in religion we are Christian in a 'positive' sense, so the Churches in politics will be National Socialist in a 'positive' sense. Mere lip-service cannot suffice; the confession of National Socialism must be confirmed in deed. . . . When the Churches found associations for sport, it is very much a question whether this education in sport is directed to the world beyond. Youth belongs to us; we will surrender our right to none. A denominational Press is also superfluous. . . . Let the Churches serve God; we serve the People.

Thus earlier in the year at Hanover he had said:⁵

As we do not mount the pulpit, so for the future we do not want to see the Gospel on political platforms. . . . In the exposition of the Gospel one may hold the command of God higher than the command of a court of human instance; in the exposition of political expediences we deem ourselves the instrument of God.

¹ At a Party meeting in Limburg (*Völkischer Beobachter*, October 29th, 1935).

² *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 261.

³ *Völkischer Beobachter*, June 30th, 1935.

⁴ *Ib.*, August 5th, 1935.

⁵ *Hannoverscher Kurier*, March 24th, 1935.

Theological confusion arises here because Dr. Goebbels has apparently not contemplated the possibility that 'the Gospel' may have somewhat to say about the conduct of this present life. But the upshot is clear: the Churches are to confine themselves to doctrines and hopes concerning the world to come; their sphere is esoteric piety; this apparently is 'negative' Christianity. The sphere of the State is the whole of practical life; here its ideas and requirements may demand the whole-hearted concurrence of the Church, and its achievements may be recognized as an expression of 'positive' Christianity. '*Den Himmel überlassen wir den Spatzen*' — 'We leave the sky to the sparrows'; this epigram of the arch-Socialist Herr Bebel is the principle adopted by the Nazis. Hence throughout the year there is a constant contention that any opposition to National Socialism can only be political, it has nothing to do with religion, it is the old spirit of the Centre Party in a new guise.¹

Meanwhile evidence was accumulating that National Socialism was regarded by many as itself a religion to be substituted for Christianity. Thus, for instance, Herr Himmeler, head of the Secret Police and like Dr. Goebbels an apostate from the Church, makes confession of faith in 'a Lord God who stands over us, who made us and our fatherland, our People and this earth, and sent us our Führer'² and 'our business is to spread the knowledge of the Race in

¹ e.g. Herr Hitler at Nürnberg (*Völkischer Beobachter*, September 12th, 1935); Dr. Frick at Nürnberg (*12-Uhr-Blatt*, March 29th, 1935) and at Münster (*Völkischer Beobachter*, July 8th, 1935); Herr Rosenberg in South Hanover (ib., June 30th, 1935). In this connexion it is significant that the courts could condemn a conscientious objector to military service on the ground that religion is a private matter and could not qualify a man's duties as a citizen (*Westdeutscher Beobachter*, July 9th, 1935). But see the very important decision of the High Court in regard to the Earnest Bible Students; the judgement is quoted as 1 D. 235/35, and is reproduced at some length in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 1074 ff. The High Court found that the Law for the Protection of People and State was only applicable to Communists or persons of Communist opinions; it could therefore not be used against the Church. The decision, however, is of no constitutional importance; for in modern Germany it constantly happens that a decision of the courts unsavoury to the Government is immediately reversed by the *Erlass* or *Verordnung* of some minister. Judges have even been known to base their decisions upon the speeches of Cabinet Ministers rather than on the written law.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, November 17th, 1935.

the life of our People and to impress it upon the hearts and heads of all down to the very youngest as Gospel, our German Gospel'.¹ The official journal of the lawyers published a ruling that May Day as a national festival was to have precedence over the 1st of May as a Christian festival if, for instance, it fell upon a Sunday.² Werner Kuhnt, a leader of the Hitler Youth, could declare that the festal act of admission into Hitler Youth must supplant the rite of Confirmation.³ Leading members of the Party accepted the chairmanship of local committees charged with the duty of restoring the old sacred stones as holy places.⁴ A writer in the official periodical of the Hitler Youth could complain that with the Christianizing of the Germans the old customs of the People had been eliminated or degraded or turned to Church purposes; 'we young men have the one burning wish to restore unfalsified and in its integrity the inheritance of our forefathers. We are also responsible for seeing that the sins of past centuries are made good.'⁵ Another official can plead for a complete cult in National Socialism parallel to the Christian calendar of the Church.⁶ A District Leader, Herr Kube, could claim that Christmas was pre-eminently a manifestation of National Socialism, and that Herr Hitler was the best of all possible bishops.⁷ The *Reichsjugendpressediens*t announced that for the future in Stargard the morning prayers of the schools are to be displaced by a new rite in the spirit and after the outlook of National Socialism.⁸ We read, too, of weddings that are no mere civil ceremonies but proper religious services of the new religion; at one of these Baldur von Schirach said in the course of his 'sermon':⁹

Nowhere does God reveal Himself more wondrously than in our People. . . . The signs that here surround us in this fair hour are the expression, the symbol, of this wondrous revelation. . . .

¹ *Ib.*, July 1st, 1935.

² *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 25th, 1935. *Tageszeitung für Biesdorf usw.*, April 24th, 1935.

³ *Hannoverscher Kurier*, May 30th, 1935.

⁴ *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 2nd, 1935.

⁵ *Wille und Macht*, quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 978 f.

⁶ *Blauberener Tageblatt*, November 14th, 1935.

⁷ *Potsdamer Zeitung*, December 12th, 1935.

⁸ *Reichsjugendpressediens*t, No. 241.

⁹ *Rhein- und Ruhrzeitung*, April 11th, 1935.

To-day the State has blessed your union: you have to-day laid the foundation of a comradeship which for all the future is to give you the strength and the courage and the faith to take your share in the severe battle which is the burden of all our people. I think I am not saying too much when I declare that the Almighty was also here amongst us in this hour. . . . The State is with this marriage! Youth is with this State! God is with this youth!

So, too, the *Süddeutsche Korrespondenz-Büro*¹ describes a heathen wedding at Pforzheim:

The central point of the ceremonial was represented by the wedding table decorated by two conjoined runic figures: on the table lay a yellow sun-disc made of flowers on a blue background; to left and right stood torch-bearers and behind the table a bowl, containing fire, and the pulpit. The choir opened the ceremony with a chorus from 'Lohengrin'. A representative of the new usage, S.S. Comrade Elling, gave the dedication-address which was based upon the song from the Edda about Helgi and Sigrun. The choir chanted both before and after the address. Then the bridal pair were offered bread (representing the germinating force of earth) and salt (the symbol of purity) on silver vessels; finally the pair thus married according to German custom received the wedding rings.

At another such wedding District Leader Dr. Hellmuth gave the bridal pair rings with the words: 'In the name of the German people and in the spirit of the blood that is common to us Germans I seal the bond of your marriage with the sign of troth.'² On a similar occasion Dr. Hellmuth spoke of 'the deed of the Führer, the restoration, the rebirth, the conversion, the redemption of the German soul'.³

The importance of these illustrations is that they are not the acts of irresponsible heathen sects, but the acts of official members of the Party, often in high office, and they are published all over the country in the controlled and official Press. It should also be remembered that *Das Schwarze Korps*,

¹ Cited in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 526.

² Quoted from the *Mainfränkische Zeitung* by the *Allg. Ev.-luth. Kirchenzeitung*, September 27th, 1935.

³ *Mainfränkische Zeitung*, September 23rd, 1935. The Christians complain of the paganizing of words as part of government policy.

a daily paper of the Party, issued from the Party's official Press, is definitely and often grossly anti-Christian. There can be no shadow of doubt that even in 1935 the Party, which is not to be dissociated from the Government, was turning more and more to National Socialism as in itself a religion, a preferable substitute for Christianity.

What, then, of these repeated declarations that the State will defend the Churches and that National Socialism is itself Christianity in practice? In general terms the answer is not obscure. The leaders of National Socialism, not being themselves Christian in any effective sense, had yet no wish to alienate from their movement the powerful influence of the Christian Church; moreover, their attitude to National Socialism was quasi-religious; they wanted the enthusiasm of religion to support them, and for practical purposes religion meant Christianity. Their National Socialism was actually their religion; its idealism, its social services, its demand for sacrifice seemed to them, when they gave the matter any thought, either to be the real essence of Christianity in itself as distinguished from the hair-splitting of the theologians, or, alternatively, as being Christianity in a distinctively German dress, the Christianity for Germans. The Church, therefore, should be given a great opportunity: let her but accept National Socialism—that is, let her but accept the Nazi Revolution as a mighty act of God, and Herr Hitler as the sent of God, and let her refrain from all political comment or criticism—then to her should gladly be given the office of chaplain to the Party and a position of spiritual dignity in the nation with complete freedom for any specialities of dogma which various theologians might find interesting; in fact, 'all this will I give thee, if only thou wilt bow down and worship me'; the Church on such terms should be welcomed, honoured, cherished; on any other terms she must walk the *Via Dolorosa*. There is a real consistency throughout the attitude of the Party. Its real religion is National Socialism. If the Church will identify herself with National Socialism, that will be best. If she make the great refusal, then National Socialism must be a religion and cult in and for itself. In 1935 the hope is not yet wholly

abandoned that the Church may be won or coerced into the service of the Party, but those elements in the Party which from the first have hated Christianity are beginning to organize a new cult and a resuscitation of the old Germanic heathenism. National Socialism cannot be accused of any fundamental inconsistency. As we can now see, there was never any question but that the Church was required to accept not only Herr Hitler and his acts but also a formulation of the faith in terms of the sacredness of Blood and Race and Soil. But the issue could not be so clearly seen in 1935, the Church being unwilling to abandon all hopes of a settlement, and the State being as yet undecided whether to abandon all hopes of Church support. The problem was the more urgent for the State, for National Socialism can tolerate no schism in the body politic; it cannot contemplate the millions of German Christians as a permanent opposition or even as a question-mark within the State; should there come, therefore, a final breach with the Church, the State would be faced with the necessity to extirpate the Christian faith. We see, therefore, a policy that is sometimes cajolery and is more often threatening and pressure.

The idea of 'One People, One Reich, One Church' appealed to the Government. At the close of 1934 the *Katholisches Kirchenblatt* (Berlin) made a serious and formal protest from the side of the Catholic Church;¹ the Evangelical Church was at least equally unwilling that the schism of the Reformation should be regarded as unimportant or to be transcended under pressure of national feeling.² It was inevitable, however, that a new mutual respect and understanding between the two great Christian Confessions of Germany should arise from their common anxiety and their common sufferings. Preaching in St. Michael's Church at Munich on February 10th Cardinal Faulhaber said: 'The faithful circles of the two old denominations are living in religious peace. The disquiet and division in the national life do not come to-day

¹ Quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1934, p. 929.

² The Evangelical attitude to the Catholic Church is most carefully worked out in two lectures by Pastor Lic. Alfred de Quervain, till recently of Elberfeld, unhappily not yet published.

from the differences of faith between the Catholic and the Protestant creeds. They come to-day from the contradiction between Christianity and heathenism.¹ A very significant article appeared in the quarterly, *Der katholische Gedanke*:²

Catholicism and Protestantism stand in the field of civil life as representatives of the Christian tradition, the Christian order of life. It is impossible and unthinkable that the two great fellowships of faith should not, in the present world-situation, mutually recognize their common dignity and task as jointly protectors and guardians of the Christian inheritance amongst our peoples and countries. Protestants and Catholics here genuinely share a common responsibility. This responsibility is God-given. The 'Christian Front' is a broken front; we must bow before the fact; its alteration cannot be the work of a single day's decision, nor does it lie with good will alone. But there can be no putting off of the demand of the hour that it be a wall to protect the Christian inheritance.

This is a new note in the land of the Reformation. The Catholic and Evangelical Churches have not even begun to consider questions of 'Reunion', but this deep sense of a common 'Christian Front' came, as we shall see, to such life as to cause genuine anxiety to the Government.³

The bishops in their pastoral letter issued in August protest against the attempts to encourage a 'national Church free from Rome'. They point to the persecution of the Church: 'To a large extent we can no longer hold meetings outside the church-buildings. The freedom of the Press, as we testify with deep sorrow, is so far limited that former Catholic papers can no longer publish religious articles and are sometimes compelled to publish articles offensive to Catholic readers'; when the commands of the State are at variance with natural law and the commands of God, they are not to be obeyed; the charge of 'political Catholicism' is used as an excuse for imprisonment, banishment, and defamatory treatment to all and sundry in the Church.⁴ The police forbade the printing of this pastoral.

Among the laws, regulations, and decisions of the year we

¹ Quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1935, p. 278.

² Quoted *ib.*, p. 226 f.

³ Cf. the very remarkable articles by Provost Simon in *Hochland*, September 1937/8, and Prof. Urbach, *ib.*, Feb. 1939.

⁴ *Hitler gegen Christus*, p. 56 f.

may note the following. The law against obscene literature passed in 1926 was revoked.¹ In April the head of the Press Department ruled that no newspaper might address itself to any particular section of the public from a particular point of view;² this meant in effect the end of the Catholic daily Press and of all Church papers other than those confined to strictly ecclesiastical matters. On June 28th was passed a law which seemed to the Nazis, and will seem to all those concerned with justice, to be of the first importance. This law 'sets the judge free from his earlier and strict bondage to the letter of the law and gives him liberty to punish, even where the text of the law does not imply the pronouncement of a penalty, should the sentiment of the People, in accordance with the fundamental idea of a penal law, exact a penalty. This is a recognition of the source of all right as residing in the conscience of the people; this is the basis of a new conception of the meaning of just and unjust.'³ In September a law was passed forbidding marriages between Germans and those of Jewish blood and declaring any unions in defiance of the law as void.⁴ A further law was passed in October requiring medical certificates for legal marriages.⁵ The primary significance of these Acts for our present purpose is the indication that law is to rest upon the supposed requirement of Race and Blood, not upon any universal 'natural' law such as is contemplated in the Catholic theory of the State.

The pressure upon the Church has not, for the most part, been exercised by the passing of special laws to deal with Church matters, but rather by the application of general laws to the Church, especially those designed to deal with Communism, and by local regulations of the police or district officials. It is only possible, therefore, to give illustrations of the kind of pressure which, apart from great prosecutions as under the Currency Laws, was harassing the Church,

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 20th, 1935.

² *Kirchliches Handbuch*, vol. xx, 1937/8, p. 59.

³ I quote from a book of Nazi international propaganda, Cesare Santoro's *Quatre Années d'Allemagne d'Hitler*, p. 308 (German edition, *Vier Jahre Hitler*, Berlin, Internationaler Verlag, 1937).

⁴ *Reichsgesetzblatt*, i. 1146.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 1246.

now here, now there, but rarely with equal persistence in all districts at once.

In September the Leader of the S.S. forbade the members of the S.S. to take any leading part in any religious organization; any priests and ministers were to be dismissed honourably from the ranks; the religious feelings of all sections of the community were to be considered.¹

In Cologne teachers were instructed that they might hold no responsible Church office or take any leading part in Church work.² Similarly the medical profession in Thuringia was instructed to keep clear of any Church office.³ Even hospital nurses were to feel themselves to be not merely concerned with the bodies of their patients but also with their souls in the interests of the National Socialist point of view.⁴ The ministry in Baden ordained that denominational societies might not celebrate any occasions outside the Church calendar such as May Day or Carnival.⁵ On December 12th the bishop's offices in Berlin were searched by the police, and Monsignor Banasch with some of his staff was arrested on a charge of betraying State secrets.⁶ The offence in reality was that through the Berlin office information about the Church situation could reach the Papal Nuncio and thus a foreign power—the Vatican City. This is properly treason from the totalitarian National Socialist point of view.

It might appear mean and unworthy even to mention such pinpricks as these, and, if little regulations of this kind or the occasionally excessive zeal of police officials were all, there could be no very serious talk of 'persecution'; yet without some concrete references to such particular events it would be impossible to give an accurate picture of the general situation.

¹ *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xx, 1937/8, p. 60.

² *Kölnische Zeitung*, September 3rd, 1935.

³ *Durchbruch*, July 10th, 1935.

⁴ *Völkischer Beobachter*, September 22nd, 1935.

⁵ *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xx, 1937/8, p. 61.

⁶ *Völkischer Beobachter*, December 12th, 1935. In particular, the police searched the 'Information Bureau' of the German episcopate. This is an office for the gathering of materials and for mutual counsel set up by the whole German episcopate. Monsignor Banasch was in charge of it.

In the course of this year, then, once the Saar plebiscite was over, we see the ever-increasing demand of the State to have the sole education of the nation's youth, a devastating and organized attack upon the Church under the Currency Laws, an increasing attempt to drive the Church within the four walls of the Church buildings and to shut the Church out from participation in the life of the nation, the suppression of Church papers, the forbidding of any criticism of National Socialist ideas, the constant threat of imprisonment under one of the laws always available when the persons or ideas of the Party were criticized, and the increasingly frank practice of paganism under Party leadership. Yet neither side was prepared to declare open war. The Pope was unwilling to denounce the Concordat, or the State to decide to treat the Church formally as a public enemy.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (*cont.*)

1936

THE year 1936 opened quietly. Both at the beginning of the year and in February the Pope and the Führer exchanged greetings,¹ but the situation rapidly grew worse. Three major questions were at issue this year: the attitude of the Government to Professor Hauer's German Faith Movement, the determination of the Government to gain complete control of the whole educational system, and the Immorality Trials directed against the Catholic Church.

Professor Hauer's resignation from the leadership of the German Faith Movement is still mysterious, and no account can be given of what in this connexion was going on behind the scenes in the early months of the year. In February it was reported in Catholic circles that negotiations with the Government under the Concordat were being suspended because the Government was hoping to achieve some sort of National Rome-free Catholic Church,² and that the bishops were preparing for an extraordinary Conference at Fulda on the crisis. But on March 28th it was announced that 'on National Socialist grounds and from religious motives' Count Reventlow had resigned from the German Faith Movement.³ Early in April Dr. Hauer wrote, 'I feel myself compelled to give up the leadership of the German Faith Movement'.⁴ Shortly afterwards Herr Kerrl gave instructions to the Secret Police in some degree to call off the Church persecution⁵, at least as regards prohibitions in respect to preaching

¹ *Volksischer Beobachter*, January 1st, 1936; *Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, February 16th, 1936.

² *Kulturkampf*, February 16th, 1936. (The address of this fly-sheet, prior to its publication in England early in 1937, was Le G erant, Joseph P erard, Imprimerie: le Circex, 20 Rue de Varenne, Paris VIIe.) The Government was probably encouraged in this hope by the abortive *Katholisch-nationalkirchliche Bewegung* which was founded at the end of 1935 under the leadership of Pfarrer Hutwohl. Its head-quarters were at Essen; its publication was called *Der romfreie Katholik*. It came to nothing: v. *Junge Kirche*, 1937, p. 158.

³ *Reichsward*, March 28th, 1936. Count Reventlow gave his reasons at length, *ib.*, April 14th, 1936, quoted *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 391 ff.

⁴ *Reichsward*, April 11th, 1936. ⁵ *Um Glauben und Kirche*, April 16th, 1936.

and places of residence for the clergy, and Herr Hitler gave instructions that the so-called 'Pulpit Paragraph', dating from the old *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck's time,¹ should not be used at the moment against the clergy.²

We are presumably to see here a further victory of National Socialism, certainly not of the Church. Why was it that Dr. Hauer felt obliged to resign just at the moment when he seemed within sight of the fulfilment of his hopes that his German Faith Movement would be adopted as the official religion of the State?

It had been Dr. Hauer's hope to unite all the various religious movements which based themselves upon the inner spiritual demands of Germanism or the 'German soul'. First there was the frank heathenism of the Ludendorff movement; its publication *Am Heiligen Quell* had in this year a circulation of some 72,000; then there was the movement represented by the paper *Durchbruch* with a circulation of some 17,000; this was bitterly hostile to Christianity and closely akin to the German Faith Movement of Dr. Hauer whose own paper *Reichsward* had gradually decreased in circulation from above 28,000 in 1934 to some 18,000 in this year.³ There were other movements unrepresented here and of minor importance. They were all alike anti-Christian and concerned with the 'protection' or expression of 'the German soul'.⁴ But Dr. Hauer had good reason to rely upon Government support. The Party Press is the Eher-Verlag in Munich; of this Press the President and General Manager is Max Amann, who is the Government Press dictator; this Press publishes *Das Schwarze Korps*, which had a circulation of about 200,000.⁵ Those who read this paper will have little doubt that it is as fundamentally anti-Christian as it is openly anti-Church.⁶ The truth is that Dr. Hauer's Movement was in remarkable harmony both with the general

¹ § 130a of the code. For the new version see *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 813.

² *Ib.*, p. 494.

³ These figures are taken from *ib.*, p. 1007.

⁴ v. *Durchbruch*, August 27th, 1936.

⁵ *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 92.

⁶ *Das Schwarze Korps*, which is pre-eminently Herr Himmler's organ, takes the view that 'National Socialism is the living form of religion' (*die Lebensform der Religiosität*): v. November 4th, 1937.

view of National Socialism and with the new cult which had the more than formal support of Party officials. Why, then, did the Party decide that it would not officially adopt the National Faith Movement, and why must Dr. Hauer retire?

The latter question seems more obscure than the former. The adoption of the German Faith Movement would have been a formal declaration of war upon the Christian Church. Minor sects could be, and had been, remorselessly snuffed out by the Nazi Party,¹ but the Christian Church could not be destroyed by any prohibitions of the police. If the Church had lost the allegiance of a large part of the nation, it still numbered millions of members, including many of the outstanding leaders of opinion. The State could neither eliminate the Church nor tolerate its final opposition. Hence a subtler plan was evolved. Dr. Hauer had openly demanded a new religion; the State desired to bring all religion under the banner of National Socialism in a National Church committed to the Nazi principles of Blood and Race and Soil. Therefore the old catch-phrase 'positive Christianity' must be retained and open heathenism frowned upon. Dr. Hauer was right in thinking the Party profoundly sympathetic with his point of view; he was wrong only in thinking it would adopt his organization and his terminology. We see, therefore, in this year an advance in the claim that Nationalism is in itself a religion which, when occasion serves, may be called authentic or 'positive' Christianity.

Some evidence may be adduced in illustration. 'National Socialism', said Dr. Ley, the head of the Labour Front, 'is the deadly enemy of everything that might prove separative in the nation. Whether it were class, the purse, interests or denominational differences that came into question—all divisions, whatever their nature, were one and the same. Everything that might cause a division in the nation must be destroyed.'² Denominational differences are to be transcended. The nation is to be united religiously, it appears,

¹ Family prayers was even made a punishable offence for members of forbidden sects if such family prayers could be represented as keeping in being a 'cell' of the sect against the day of its rehabilitation (*Deutsche Justiz*, February 17th, 1938).

² *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 14th, 1936.

upon the basis of Dr. Ley's own faith: 'At last through Adolf Hitler I have found my Lord again. Before that, I no longer had a God. To-day I believe in a personal God who is near to me. . . . There is nobody more religious and god-fearing than Adolf Hitler. We believe that the Lord sent us our Führer so that he might free Germany from hypocrites and Pharisees.'¹ 'National Socialism as a fellowship of culture', said District Leader Kube in January, 'is priestess to the soul and spirit of the nation.'² 'We have no interest in setting up a new religion,' said District Leader Hildebrandt, 'our religion is our National Socialist outlook, and our Testament is the book *Mein Kampf* of our Leader, Adolf Hitler.'³ Herr Julius Streicher, the friend of Herr Hitler and notorious editor and publisher of the *Stürmer*, could protest that 'a real warrior must be a Christian in very deed'; as for the parsons they are frankly 'traitors'.⁴

Some of these leaders—and I am quoting only from those in responsible official positions—may profess that National Socialism with Hitler as its Messiah is their religion; others are quite free to call themselves Christians. But what kind of Christianity do they approve? Typical in its outlook and violence is an utterance by Deputy District Leader Holz in Hersbruck on October 27th:⁵

We have not founded the Third Reich for the benefit of calcified High School professors nor for the Hallelujah-singers, the beggar-sisters and beggar-brothers. If in a single night all the Jews in the whole world were to be stricken dead at a single stroke, this would be the most sacred festal day in the whole of world-history. The Christian love of one's neighbour in no way applies to the Jews. Christ himself showed none to the Jews. We see that in the Cleansing of the Temple. The father of the Jews is the devil. They are murderers from the beginning. It is the filthy fellows of the church (*Bekennnisscheisskerle*) who suppose that the Jews are

¹ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, July 14th, 1936.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 7th, 1936.

³ *Doberaner Nachrichten*, June 16th, 1936.

⁴ *Beilage zum amtlichen Schreiben des bayrischen Landeskirchenrates*, October 31st, 1936.

⁵ *Ib.* That this represents no isolated utterance by the Deputy District Leader may be seen by reference to the similar speech cited in *Junge Kirche*, 1937, p. 969.

the chosen people. . . . The parsons falsely interpret the Bible. I as bishop of the Franks will give you a correct exegesis. Whoever takes the contrary view to mine is a traitor to Christ. . . . God and Christianity are in no danger, but rather those who have made this hocus-pocus in the denominational religious Services, I mean those who have extinguished the candles and draped the altar in black. They have brought tears to the eyes of a couple of old beggarmen, but that will not happen a second time. . . . Franciscan priests are pig-priests; Protestant deans and professors of theology are no better. A man like that used to go Sunday by Sunday into the pulpit, and yet he was a thorough swine. Ours is a Christianity of very deed. . . . But these are pig-fellows. Young men of Germany, march together in step, be no filthy church-fellows. . . . We do not want our youth brought up to homosexuality and onanism; therefore away with the Christian education of the young! I believe in Christ. My child of four and we all say grace at dinner every day. But I do not believe in the parsons. . . . The poor parsons do not like it that Hitler is so honoured by the people; they ought to add, 'we are jealous; honour and thanks are our prerogative'. You stay good Christians, but do not believe in the Church-rascals. If the Jews are God's children, then God too must be a Jew. For, as is the father, so are the children. That would be blasphemy.

Of much significance for the thought of the time was an article on 'the Conflict of the world-views, the philosophical basis of the National Socialist Programme', which was published simultaneously in two official Party organs.¹

Our philosophy (*Weltanschauung*) [says the article] is a religious philosophy. For us religion has nothing to do with the Church. Religion is to be found wherever a man serves a supreme value. The supreme value that we serve is the People; hence for us the service of the People is the service of God. We believe and know that there is a God who has made our People. There is an ultimate and unfathomable meaning of all existence, call it destiny, original force or God—all these words mean the same thing. Every philosophy implies an ultimate decision before God! This decision faces us all as we are bound by the unbreakable fellowship of destiny, of history, of country, and, before all, by common blood. Every church, every religious movement, be it Christian

¹ *Der Frankfurter Student* and *Der Hessische Akademische Beobachter*, quoted at length in *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 75-8.

or heathen, must approve itself before God, destiny or the future. . . . Point 24 of the Party Programme asserts that we stand in a positive relation to whatever in Christianity commends itself to us as positive. . . . The totalitarian claim of our philosophy, that is, its unity, its all-comprehensiveness and its exclusiveness must become a matter of our own experience. . . . We desire no battle against Christianity. . . .

but

(1) the Church preaches the equality of every being that wears the face of a man. We say, on the other hand, that men are unlike. . . . The parson gives his blessing to the marriage of a Catholic German girl and a Catholic kaffir, and speaks of a mixed marriage when two persons of like blood but different denomination want to get married. (2) The Church recognizes that certain physical characteristics can be inherited but denies this of spiritual aptitudes and capacities. We recognize no such duality of body and soul. Here we clearly understand the Church's opposition to the first purely National Socialist law, the Sterilization Law. (3) The two philosophies are fundamentally different in their conception of life's meaning. The Church speaks of the sinful body that must be overcome, of earth as a vale of tears. We, on the contrary, believe that we are under commission from the Most High when we see our first fulfilment upon the earth, in the world in which destiny sets us. If there is a Heaven, the way to this Heaven is only by Germany. Whosoever sets any service above the service of the People is guilty of idolatry.

Commenting on this another writer in the *Hessischer Akademischer Beobachter* points the moral, 'the triumph of one of these philosophies means the death of the other'.¹

These were not merely private and personal opinions. Just this teaching was being impressed upon the young people of the country through the Hitler Youth. In March of this year was published the aged Gustav Frenssen's *Der Glaube der Nordmark* in which the *quondam* author of *Hilligenlei* declares his complete breach with Christianity. The book was officially accorded the warmest welcome by the Hitler Youth and commended to the study of the young as of the first importance for the revival of Germany.² Again, in

¹ Quoted in *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 171.

² *Die Hitler-Jugend*, No. 21, May 23rd, 1936.

the May number of the Hitler Youth paper, *Wille und Macht*,¹ one of the leading Nazi officials, Dr. Walter Gross,² explained to the young people that the National Socialist philosophy is all-embracing; 'no question that moves the hearts of men is outside our sphere'; National Socialism concerns itself with all things in the world and in history, in heaven or on earth, human and divine. Another responsible official from Hesse-Nassau offers the Hitler Youth a creed which expresses . . . true faith in ourselves as a fragment of eternity. . . . We believe in God as an eternal revelation of power and life upon earth as in all. . . . The idea of God and eternity are to the Germanic man something natural. God is Nature itself (*Natürlichkeit*), or he is not God. Thus there arises out of our philosophy a conception of God and of eternity which, as I must again insist, has nothing to do with the dogma of any church. . . . We believe in the eternity of the German People and on eternal Germany, because we believe on the eternity of all power and of all life. We believe in the rightness of the National Socialist philosophy. We believe in the legitimacy of our will. We believe in the rightness of the idea. We believe in Adolf Hitler, our great leader.³

On June 2nd the following order appeared on the notice-board of the Hitler Youth in Schönhausen on the Elbe:⁴

Hitler Youth, troop 1/13/66, By order of the *Bannführer* I forbid any boy to attend Pastor S.'s evening At Home. Any boy disobeying this order will be asked to resign from the Hitler Youth, otherwise further measures will be taken against him; for one of the Hitler Youth no longer needs any pastor for his spiritual education. *Heil Hitler!*

This notice may in itself be a solitary instance of this particular rule, but it is completely typical of the outlook of the Hitler Youth in general. The elderly General Mackensen might exhort the Hitler Youth to be Christian,⁵ but the tides were running on a contrary direction.⁶

¹ No. 9. Cf. *Der Freiheitskampf*, Dresden, May 8th, 1936.

² Dr. Gross is 'Leiter des rassenpolitischen Amtes'.

³ *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, May 22nd, 1936.

⁴ *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 595.

⁵ Quoted in *ib.*, 1937, p. 113.

⁶ Up till about the beginning of 1936 there were still, especially in the fully Catholic or Evangelical parts of Germany, many faithful Christian people

The non-German student of this period is at a disadvantage; being accustomed either to irreligion or to a religion which claims catholicity or universality, he cannot easily assimilate the idea of a religion for Germans only; it seems to him to be like the claim for 'truth for Germans' in distinction from truth for lesser breeds, and thus to involve a contradiction, as indeed it does. Only by a strong effort of the imagination can English-speaking peoples take National Socialism seriously as a religion. But we do these Nazis wrong if we think they do not mean precisely what they say. Their deeds are in strict conformity with their words. That a civilized people should relapse into a romantic heathenism is difficult for us to understand. Moreover, the Party leaders with Herr Hitler constantly assert that so far from being at war with Christianity they base their whole policy upon it in its 'positive' variety. It is natural, therefore, that readers should suppose that the picture here given is one-sided and that the situation is more complicated than appears. Actually the facts are plain and all point one way. There was nothing shamefaced or apologetic about the attitude of the Nazi Party. No doubt there was a certain tension between those who wished to call their new religious enthusiasm Christian and those who favoured a new name for the new thing; but in substance there was no real difference between them. Thus Herr Kerrl, the Church minister, in an Election Demonstration at Braunsberg is reported to have said: 'God has written the programme of life into your veins with red blood of our German People. Deep inside you your conscience says: Do your duty, melt yourself into one nation, sacrifice your own interests to those of the community. That is the deep meaning of Christianity such as has always been exemplified by the Führer. . . . Through National Socialism this Christianity has once more become reality.'¹ Herr Kerrl calls National Socialism Christianity; *Durchbruch*² describes it frankly as 'a

who made the Hitler Youth and the League of German Maidens a really good means of education. From 1936 onwards this Christian element amongst the leaders was very rapidly reduced; many resigned because their position was made intolerable by the pressure upon them from Berlin; many were pushed out by the dominant radical circles in the Party. There can be very few left.

¹ *Kulturkampf*, March 25th, 1936.

² No. 6, 1936.

new religion', but both mean the same thing by National Socialism.

The retirement of Dr. Hauer marks a change of policy but not of heart. Henceforth open and avowed heathenism is to be avoided; there is to be one orthodoxy with two formulations of the creed—'National Socialism is my religion', or 'National Socialism is my Christianity'. For the future National Socialism will itself be set forth with increasing emphasis and clarity as in itself a substitute for Church or any other partial and outside organization. The Nazi Movement is to be Church as well as Gospel. Christianity is not to be formally repudiated, but the organized Church is to be made unnecessary.

In this year began the State's great campaign to gain complete control of the national education in the schools. This has been a vital issue in the Church struggle, but the would-be historian is at a stand. The rape of the Christian schools has been carried out systematically but locally and gradually, not by enactments of the Government published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*,* but by local authorities. A full account of the campaign would have to deal with each district separately; all the facts have never been gathered together, nor could they be published were they known, but, if details cannot be given (lest the liberty and lives of informants be endangered), there is no question whatever as to the general course of the struggle.

But first a brief note is required upon the school system in Germany when the Nazis came into power. As regards elementary schools (*Volksschulen*) there had been two types, the *Bekanntnisschule* or denominational school, and the *Simultanschule* or undenominational school. Thus, for instance, in Prussia and Bavaria, since State schools had been instituted, they had been denominational, while in Baden and Hessen-Nassau they had been undenominational. A denominational school, it must be understood, is a State school, but the children and teachers all belong to one denomination, either Catholic or Evangelical, and the whole of the education is in accord with the moral and religious principles of the particular denomination. Undenominational schools are likewise

State schools, but here the general teaching is without reference to denominational differences, while the religious instruction is given by the clergy of the two Churches.

Middle schools (*Gymnasien*, &c.) were normally undenominational, though in certain predominantly Catholic States a certain number of State middle schools were strictly Catholic institutions. In addition to the State schools a certain number of private schools were tolerated rather than encouraged, but they were always few.

The local control of the denominational schools was in the hands of the local clergy; the State exercised its supervision through the Government Department which had a Catholic and an Evangelical section. The Churches had always upheld the principle of the denominational school, which was confirmed by various Concordats (e.g. the Bavarian in 1924, the Prussian in 1929, and the National in 1933). In the undenominational schools, both primary and secondary, the right of the clergy to give the religious instruction had been guaranteed by the law and constitution of almost every one of the States that constituted the Reich.

Germany, then, had been spared the struggle for 'free' or private schools which has harassed other countries. The denominations had their denominational schools, which were at the same time State schools; the teachers were trained in denominational Training Colleges. In pre-War times a demand for the abolition of denominational schools and the substitution of *Gemeinschaftsschulen*, or national schools, had come from the Social Democrats, now called the 'Marxists'. In the debates on the Weimar Constitution the retention of the denominational schools was a matter of much dispute, but a compromise was reached. The principle was adopted that the retention or abolition of any school as a denominational school should depend upon the suffrages of the parents.¹ The Weimar Constitution was relatively favourable to 'free' or private schools,² and the number of such increased, largely through the efforts of the religious Orders.

Thus the school system in Germany was essentially Christian education; the Nazi demand for national schools (*Gemein-*

¹ Art. 146.

² Art. 149.

schaftsschulen) was one of the many instances of the coincidence of their thought with that of the hated 'Marxists'; and the principle of the rights of parents to decide the nature of the education, which had been pressed by the Church against the Social Democrats,¹ was, as we shall see, the principle employed by the National Socialists after their fashion to destroy Christian education.

'It will always remain the cardinal point of the National Socialist Movement that the education of the coming generation be carried through solely and exclusively by the Movement itself and the National Socialist State.' Thus has Herr Rosenberg laid down the basic principle.² For 'the eternal German People stands higher than all denominations and Churches. . . . The fifth Symphony of Beethoven is a greater divine revelation than all the books of the Old Testament put together.'³ Dr. Rust, the Minister for Education, has made plain the purpose of education in the new State: 'The whole function of all education is to create a Nazi. . . . The National Socialist philosophy organically permeates the entire teaching.'⁴ Hence the administrative order of the Government: 'The education of German youth has to proceed uniformly in the spirit of National Socialism.'⁵ There can be no separation, says Dr. Rust, between the imparting of knowledge and the moulding of character: 'the National Socialist educational system did not arise out of a pedagogical theory but from the political struggle and its proper laws. The organizations of the young Germany were worked out as instruments of the political battle, instruments without which the movement would not have reached its goal.'⁶

¹ The Pope, following St. Thomas S.Th. 2a, 2ae, Q.CII, a. 1, in his bull *Divini Illius Magistri*, had laid it down that

the family holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence the right to educate the offspring, a right inalienable because inseparably joined to the strict obligation, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and of the State, and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.

² Quoted in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, evening edition, January 18th, 1937, cf. Herr Rosenberg's speech quoted in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, October 11th, 1937.

³ *Ib.*, December 13th, 1937.

⁴ *Ib.*, February 13th, 1938.

⁵ *Erlass des Kultministers*, dated April 28th, quoted in *Württ. Regierungsanzeiger*, November 2nd, 1937.

⁶ *Weltanschauung und Schule*, March 1937.

Thus the whole educational system frankly subserves the purposes of political propaganda;¹ this applies even to the teaching of mathematics but is pre-eminently illustrated by the teaching of history; 'there is probably nothing more revolting in Germany, not even the stories of physical atrocities,' says Professor S. H. Roberts,² 'than the degradation of professional historians.' But education is not merely political, it is also and therein religious. 'There is no education that is not finally a religious education', said Baldur von Schirach.³ Religion and *Weltanschauung*, said Dr. Kerrl, are identical.⁴

The whole educational system of Germany, therefore, must serve a political end and be itself religious in the sense of National Socialism. Whatever 'religious instruction' in Christianity may be allowed will be frankly subordinated to the dominant end of education—to make good Nazis. There is to be a short way with obstinate individualists in the Churches and out of them, said Herr Hitler:⁵

We are taking their children away from them and are training them to become new German men and women. When a child is ten years old, it has not yet acquired any feeling for high birth or ancestry, but is like other children. It is at this age that we are going to take them, to form them into a community, and not let them go until they are eighteen years old. Then they will go into the Party, the S.A., the S.S. and the other organizations, or they will go at once to work and into the Labour Front and the Labour Corps, and then for two years into the Army. If that won't make a nation out of such people, nothing will.

One of the many agonies in Germany to-day is that of parents whose children are being 'taken away' from them. That this 'taking away' is no mere metaphor is indicated by

¹ An admirable and careful account of what this means will be found in a shilling pamphlet issued by the Kulturkampf Association (Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2) under the heading of *Education in Nazi Germany*, by two English investigators, with a foreword by Sir Norman Angell (1938). (Subsequently referred to as *Education in Nazi Germany*.)

² *The House that Hitler Built*, p. 255.

³ *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, April 8th, 1937.

⁴ On January 15th, 1938, in Berlin, quoted in *Evangelische Unterweisung*, 1938, Heft 3/4.

⁵ In his May Day speech, 1937, quoted in *The Spectator* of May 7th, 1937.

various decisions in the courts. It has been decided that parents who belong to the simple and pious sect of the Earnest Bible Students can be deprived of the custody of their children. The court found it indisputable that a German child can be greatly injured in its spiritual and moral welfare if brought up in accord with the views of this pacifist sect. Such a bringing-up would estrange the child from his country and fellow countrymen, and would lead to insubordination against the authority of the Government. A German father, therefore, who brings up his child in the principles of the Earnest Bible Students is grossly misusing his right of caring for the child and evading his duty as a parent.¹ In another similar case² the custody of a child was partly transferred to the Hitler Youth organization; the parents' refusal to allow their child to enter the Hitler Youth was construed by the court as a 'misuse of parental rights'. It seems that up to the present it is chiefly members of this humble and entirely inoffensive sect who have suffered in this way; but it is obvious that the logic of these decisions may lead to very wide extension of the practice. 'We begin with the child when he is three years old', said Dr. Ley;³ 'as soon as he begins to think, he gets a little flag put in his hand; then follows the school, the Hitler Youth, the S.A. and military training. We don't let him go; and, when adolescence is past, then comes the Labour Front which takes him again and does not let him go until he dies, whether he likes it or not.'

In May of 1931 there were in Germany 52,959 religious schools. Of these 29,020 were Evangelical, 15,256 were Catholic, 97 were Jewish, 8,291 were undenominational.⁴ The task and intention of the Government has been to supplant these by *Gemeinschaftsschulen* or national schools

¹ The decision, given in 1937, was cited in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of March 2nd, 1938. I quote from the account given in *Kulturkampf*, March 11th, 1938.

² Quoted from the *Juristische Wochenschrift* by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 14th, 1938; v. *Kulturkampf*, May 23rd, 1938. This number of *Kulturkampf* also alleges that in one instance a mother was deprived of the care of her child because she had intended to place it in a Catholic institution.

³ Quoted in *Education in Nazi Germany*, p. 8.

⁴ *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xviii, 1933/4, p. 81. These figures exclude the Saar territory.

either by erecting new buildings or much more commonly by taking over and transforming the Church schools, usually after a nominal consultation with the parents. A 'conscience clause' might be enacted for these schools,¹ and assurances might be given that no change in religious instruction was intended,² but the purpose and spirit of the change was well expressed in an official document from Weissenfels:³

The majority of German teachers have tried for years to rest their teaching and all their educational work . . . upon principles of the Race and the People. To-day we cannot conceive of instruction about history or the German language or geography or biology except upon this basis. But what of religious instruction? The struggle of the German People against the characteristically alien Judaism will be carried forward to a victorious conclusion in every sphere of the People's life. Only in the sphere of most intimate experience, in religious feeling and thought, does the might of Judaism seem to be so entrenched that there is no contending with it. The Christian churches of all denominations in Germany, even the most diverse movements within the German Evangelical Church, with more or less clarity hold fast by the Judaism of the Old Testament and fail to see that within the new fellowship of the German People there can be no more room for such adherence to the old, which is alien to our race and our character, simply to preserve the status of the Church. Religion and People belong together: the German People can only recognize as genuinely religious that which corresponds with its own character in feel and form. And since the German teacher is very conscious of the division in his work of instruction and education which arises from this holding fast to old ideas of teaching and curriculum in the field of religious instruction, he will be glad to accept the enclosed 'Suggestions for the form of Religious Instruction in Schools of the People' as a finger post pointing the way to an education adapted to the characteristics of our German young people, that is, to an education that has for its goal a 'positive', a practical, a German Christianity of very deed such as is contemplated in the Party Programme.

¹ Cf. Dr. Rust's ordinance of June 26th, 1936 (*Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 116, 563, *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xx, p. 51).

² As in Württemberg, v. *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 585, and as by the school official Josef Bauer (*Völkischer Beobachter*, February 5th, 1936).

³ *N.S.D.A.P. Amt für Erzieher. N.S. Lehrerbund, Kreisamtsleitung Weissenfels, Tgb. Nr. 1358/35.*

Religious instruction, indeed, was not to be eliminated from the schools, but Catholic and Evangelical children were to sit side by side and to be taught that which might nominally be still called Christianity but would undoubtedly be a Christianity from which all elements deemed Jewish had been extracted and in which all must be attuned to the supposed requirements of the German soul. The actual religious teaching given would vary very considerably in different parts of the country. Thus, for instance, the responsible minister in Dessau gave instructions¹ that the Old Testament should only be used in careful selections and when the treatment of racial questions or the understanding of the New Testament made it necessary:

The Old Testament shews the typically Jewish spirit and the collapse of a people ill disposed to things divine. From the New Testament the Synoptic Gospels are to be mainly used. The Person of Jesus is to be central. He is to be represented as the hero unafraid, the zealous warrior against all religious imposture, the helper and comforter of all the 'weary and heavy-laden', the friend of children, the Saviour of all who followed him. At the same time the inexorable struggle of Jesus against the Jewish spirit is to be constantly pointed out. Hence it will be indicated that Jesus did not belong to Judaism racially.

Somewhat different, but still nominally Christian, is the syllabus for religious instruction of the National Socialist Teachers' Union in South Westphalia.² Here it is explained that a distinction must be drawn between the doctrines of the Christian Churches on the one side and, on the other, 'the profound religious faith' (*Religiosität und Tiefgläubigkeit*) of the German man as such; this latter is intimately bound up with the life of the German People; it must therefore be central and fundamental. Later, 'a final comprehensive educational concept of National Socialism is the introduction of the pupils to a living Christian piety. The attitude of the warrior Christ, as shown in his action and his sacrifice, will lead our People to the lost, departed values of a living knowledge of God and restore the creative fellowship of

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt für ev.-luth. Geistl. in Bayern*, 1937/5. Quoted in *Evangelisches Schulblatt*, 1937, Heft 3/4.

² *Schulfrage*, No. 5/6, 1935.

individual souls and the soul of the People with the eternal foundation of all being and becoming': Christianity is not to be taken as a 'fixed and ready-made entity' but as 'something to be experienced as it waxes out of the deep will to life and the eternally moved longing of the German soul. It is therefore necessary that the awakening and cultivation of the religious field should be bound up with the fundamental instruction which aims at the preservation and substantiation of National Socialist values.' Here even more clearly we see Christianity regarded as useful provided it be subservient to the ideas of National Socialism. Of serious instruction in the Christian faith there can be no question.¹

Even a tyranny cannot move faster than public opinion will tolerate. The real or ultimate intention of the Government was revealed in an article which appeared in *Weltanschauung und Schule* in March 1937.²

The new German national school is a Confessional School of National Socialism, that is, it educates every young German person in every branch of education to be in the spirit of National Socialism one who confesses the ideas of Adolf Hitler. This new German People's School has, indeed, the formal principle of totality in common with the old Church school; it is a confessional school and as such stands in clear contradiction of the old undenominational school. But it is based upon the central values of the National Socialist philosophy and as such stands in express contradiction of the Church school.

¹ A representative and moderate illustration of what religious teaching is likely to be in those schools which would claim to teach 'positive Christianity' may be found in the careful but unofficial *Lehrplan für deutschen Religionsunterricht* published by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Religionsunterricht* (Ferdinand Hirt, 1937). This is a fairly elaborate syllabus, and enables the reader to gather some impression of the amount of time given to Christian as distinct from German teaching, and of the selection from the Bible and the emphasis offered. Heathenism is taught side by side with Christianity, and the Christian element in the syllabus subtends the accepted ideas of National Socialism. The conclusion of the whole matter is summed up thus: 'Service to the People is service to God. Germanism, the soul of the German People, is a divine force that is without qualification binding upon us as a matter of destiny. We fight not for ourselves, not even for our personal and eternal blessedness, but we labour conscientiously, selflessly, and bravely for a timeless good that is more than we ourselves, that was before us, is with us and shall be after us—for the German People.'

² Edited by Professor Bäumler, *Hauptstellenleiter beim Beauftragten des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Erziehung der N.S.D.A.P.*, v, p. 295.

Nothing could be more definite than this authoritative statement, and indeed no other policy would have been consistent with the ever-renewed totalitarian claims of National Socialism.¹ 'We really desire', said Baldur von Schirach in July of this year, 'to be the dawn of a new age. We desire to eradicate the last vestiges of egoism out of these young people, and we desire to be a believing fellowship which knows only the eternal countenance of the German nation. Therewith we are at once the bearers of a religious conviction and the heralds of a new and holy faith.'² Little wonder if the Church regarded the religious instruction of the national schools as simply an instrument of paganism.

All over Germany the national schools have taken the place of the Church schools; the task is approached piecemeal, lest there be too general indignation at any one time. The consultation of the parents was in most cases a bitter farce. Everywhere one may hear stories of how it was done; for the most part there has been no record. I quote only one or two instances which have already appeared in print; they could be indefinitely multiplied from oral tradition but that the mentioning of names and places would bring disaster to my supposed informants. In a certain town the parents of the schoolchildren were summoned to a meeting the purpose of which was not disclosed: 'Whoever does not come to the meeting', ran the notice, 'will be deemed to consent to its decisions.' Of 65 parents some 20 stayed away. After a lecture on the national school and the denominational school 11 left the meeting in protest because no discussion was allowed. Of the remainder 16 voted for a national

¹ Professor Bäumlner himself has said: 'There is only one thing that the State cannot tolerate, and that is that the principles of life embodied in school instruction should be grounded upon Denominational dogmas instead of on the People's *Weltanschauung*' (*Weltanschauung und Schule*, 1936, No. 1, p. 10). Again, 'neutrality over against the denominations has for a long time belonged to the essence of the modern State. But in no way must it belong to the essence of this State to be neutral also over against *Weltanschauung*' (ib., November 1936, p. 18). In other words Christianity is tolerated as a religion but not as a philosophy of life! This inner contradiction would appear grotesque and childish were it not complicated and confused by the further contradictory claim that Christianity ('positive Christianity') is itself the *Weltanschauung* upon which National Socialism rests.

² *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, July 15th, 1936.

school and 9 against. Next day the 'result of the voting' was published. It appeared that 47 had voted for the national school and 9 against. The majority was made up of the 20 absentees, the 11 who left under protest, and the 16 who voted 'Yes'.¹ A similar instance from another place is reported,² the inclusion of absentees and of those leaving under protest bringing the total of the Aye votes up to 92·7 per cent.

In other places the voting for the national schools was equally high; thus in Stuttgart it was 93 per cent. to the great satisfaction of the régime.³ But much depended upon whether the voting was open or secret. Thus, when Bishop Damian of Fulda exhorted his people to support the Church schools, of the 64,000 members of his diocese 56,674 declared that they would vote for the Christian school, but when about the same time Herr Julius Streicher made the population of his district vote publicly for or against the Christian school, 99 per cent. voted for the national school.⁴ The story of the unfair and tyrannous pressure put upon thousands of parents can never be told, but a little imagination will fill out the picture as given in an episcopal pastoral letter:⁵

You know that on . . . in . . . and other places of our diocese the national school was established as a surprise. I challenged you on Sunday last to make use of your legal right of objection. Many thousands of you have done so, voluntarily and in all publicity, in spite of the fact that there were a number of agents to watch you . . . I know also of just as many thousands of you who, though mentally adherents of the Christian schools, have abstained from giving their signature, being afraid, under present conditions, to lose their means of livelihood. . . . Thus it is said: officials who should protest against the introduction of the community national school would be dismissed, old age pensioners would lose their pensions, the children of those who had signed the lists would get no jobs, shopkeepers and tradesmen would be boycotted, workers in factories would run the risk of dismissal. Here and there officials have been asked—even on

¹ Particulars in *Kulturkampf*, February 22nd, 1937.

² *Der Deutsche in Polen*, February 6th, 1938.

³ *Völkischer Beobachter*, April 26th, 1936.

⁴ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, January 2nd, 1938.

⁵ *Kulturkampf*, No. 78.

Soldatentum und Kultur



Aufnahme: Nenzig

Dieser Staat soll nicht eine Macht sein ohne Kultur und keine Kraft ohne Schönheit, denn auch die Rüstung eines Volkes ist nur dann moralisch gerechtfertigt, wenn sie Schild und Schwert einer höheren Mission ist. Wir streben daher nicht nach der rohen Gewalt eines Dschingis Khan, sondern nach einem Reiche der Kraft in der Gestaltung einer starken sozialen und beschirmten Gemeinschaft als Träger und Wächter einer höheren Kultur

ADOLF HITLER

THE ARMY AND CULTURE

From *Die Bewegung*, December 7th, 1937

their oath—whether they themselves or any members of their families had signed the lists. Agents for special streets and blocks of houses frequently went round and paid house to house visits in order to intimidate the women and force them to withdraw their signature. Those who objected are even accused of sabotaging Government measures, of being politically unreliable and hostile to the State. Notice is given of disciplinary measures on the part of Party and State.

Those who voted publicly for the Church schools often risked, not merely their own livelihood, but the future of their children.

On July 12th of this year there was celebrated a great dedication ceremony when the 'House of German Education' was consecrated (that seems the only suitable word) for its sacred purpose. The hall

. . . is planned on lines exactly similar to those of a church with a central nave, two side naves, an organ-loft over the main entrance and, instead of the altar, a statue of the German Mother. It is the monumental figure of a woman in white marble; at her feet are three children of different sizes; the middle one, a girl, has a book on her lap and sits sunk in meditation beside the smallest child. Behind them stands a young boy with a sword. Over the statue there is a swastika in a mosaic with a flashing golden sun. As in the church the light penetrates through the upper portion of the side-walls. The old German element is present in the runic signs on the panelling and the longish light-fittings made of wood.¹

When the Archbishop of Cologne in his pastoral letter of March 2nd indicated that the loosening of religious instruction from the living organism of the school was often the first step to the complete dechristianizing of the school, he was echoed by *Durchbruch*, which declared that the national school meant the elimination of the Christian foundation of the school.²

The setting up of the national schools in the place of the

¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 13th, 1936.

² No. 24, June 11th, 1936. That the spirit that inspired the Bayreuth 'House of German Education' was likewise to inspire all high schools and universities was made plain enough in an article by Dr. Heinz Wolff in the *Niedersächsische Hochschul-Zeitung*, quoted at length in *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 485 ff.

Church schools was accompanied by a number of local regulations in the same direction. Thus members of the National Socialist Teachers' Union were told that they must resign their membership of Church Teachers' Unions.¹ Again, in Oldenburg the Minister for the Interior and the Minister for Church and School ordained that all crucifixes or pictures of Luther were to be removed from the schools.² District Leader Röver explained this on the principle that the school belongs to the State even when it is a Catholic school.³ In Nürnberg the teachers were forbidden to discuss their religious instruction with the clergy.⁴ In October the Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture announced that all Catholic teaching Sisters would be dismissed:⁵

All teaching Sisters will be deprived of their right to teach in State schools as from January 1st, 1937. . . . The National Socialist State can no longer permit ecclesiastical teachers to take care of the children. They can no longer do justice to the new State principles and educational aims; they are prevented from giving the attention necessary to-day to physical training, German history, racial science and biology. Nor are they fitted for collaboration in working outside the school in connection with the League of German Girls, the National Socialist Women's Union, in Winter Relief Work and in the National Socialist Welfare organization.

The nun and, of course, the priest were to be eliminated from the field of education⁶ and, indeed, from any active participation in public life or influence upon it.

One of the unpleasantest elements in the situation was

¹ *Erlass des Reichsamtleiters* of September 29th, 1936; *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 1061 ff.

² *Ib.*, p. 1111. At the same time the order was rescinded which required the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities for the introduction of any new religious book into the curriculum (*Evangelisches Schulblatt*, No. 11, 1936). In the case of Oldenburg the government had to withdraw in view of popular indignation. The incident is described in Duncan-Jones, *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, p. 218.

³ *Nachrichten für Stadt und Land*, No. 315, November 19th, 1936.

⁴ *Evangelisches Schulblatt*, Heft 12, 1936, pp. 242 ff.

⁵ *Education in Nazi Germany*, p. 67.

⁶ The elimination of the priest, with few exceptions, is treated in the Bishop of Berlin's pastoral letter quoted in *The Times* of October 11th, 1937.

the encouragement of schoolchildren to spy both upon their teachers and their parents. The Secret Police were willing and glad in many cases to receive the evidence of children that their teacher or parents were apt in the class-room or the home to speak in criticism or disrespectfully of National Socialist ideals or National Socialist leaders. Obviously no proof of this is available, nor, were it available, could it be safely cited. Teachers were often at the mercy of the spitefulness, even of the mere misunderstanding, of their pupils. Christian parents who may wholly trust their children may yet be hesitant about their discretion, and, realizing that their children may be questioned as to what is said at home or that a remark thoughtlessly repeated and carried farther by rumour may lead to very serious trouble, they have to conduct family conversation and training under that constant strain. The pressure upon Christians in Germany cannot be understood except by those who have spent time in their country and their confidence.¹

The complete Nazification of Germany was being effectively resisted only by the Church. The Church was too strong to be dissolved by police action, but could it be so discredited in the eyes of the nation that as an educator of youth it would be without defence?

One evening in Berlin, speaking of the enmity of the Catholic Church to National Socialism, Herr Hitler is reported to have said that he proposed to deal once for all with the claims of the Catholic Church:

Do not suppose that I am going to make the same mistake that Bismarck did. Bismarck was a Protestant and therefore did not know how to get the better of the Catholic Church. Providence has caused me to be Catholic, and I know therefore how to handle this Church. If she will not accommodate herself to us, I will let loose upon her a propaganda that will exceed her

¹ For confirmation I may point to the printed list of questions which, according to *Kulturkampf*, April 24th, 1936, were at Hamburg addressed to boys who had not joined the Hitler Youth. They were, for instance, asked whether they had met with difficulties at home or at school or in a Church organization. Apparently even the National Socialist newspaper, the *Arbeitsmann*, records something of the grumbling caused by the spying of children: v. *Kulturkampf*, October 4th, 1937.

powers of hearing and of sight. I will set in motion against her the Press, the Wireless and the Film. I will bring back to life the forgotten atrocities of her history, and I will shew the People how the parson really lives and is debauched. I know how to handle these fellows and how they are to be caught out. They shall bend or break—but, since they are no fools, they will bow their heads.¹

The 'Immorality Trials', as they are called, mark a phase in this struggle which is without any exact parallel in history. No one will doubt or dispute that a 'black sheep' will be found here and there among the thousands of the priests and lay brothers of the Catholic Church in Germany or elsewhere. Protestants also have their tragedies of this kind. The German Government was able to discover a certain number of such cases and did, I believe, unearth one really bad spot concerning which the most charitable thing to be said is that a company of lay-brothers during the dreadful time of hunger and unemployment shortly before the Revolution had with more pity than foresight allowed their strength to be diluted by the admission to their ranks of those who were unworthy.² That in a few cases the decision of the courts was morally justified is not to be disputed. But it should be noted, first that many of the charges were for offences committed long since and already punished by the Church, second that many of the charges were against those who had joined the National Socialist Party, and third that in very many cases the charges were monstrously and grotesquely false. During the course of the trials paragraph 175 of the criminal code was stretched to cover not merely the immoral act but also any action which might lead thereto unless it could be proved that it was not so. On this principle if a priest should have touched a child in the most innocent way, and the child being hysterical should assert that this touch gave rise to sexual excitement, the priest

¹ I have no published authority for this statement. Since it is entirely in character and, except in respect of the film, exactly corresponds with Herr Hitler's practical policy, and since it is familiar in Germany, I think it fair to reproduce it.

² On the action taken by the Vatican see *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, September 1937, p. 835.

would be in grave danger of being branded under the criminal law for an offence against morality.¹

The campaign was a failure. The number of cases where the prosecutor really made good his charge, and where the Church had not already taken disciplinary action, was a percentage so small as to be to a temperate judgement surprising. That moral corruption cannot be laid as a charge against the priests and lay-brothers of the Catholic Church in Germany is now proven. But one of the worst parts of the whole business was the use made of these trials by the Press and radio.

When in 1938 Herr Hitler protested against the attitude of the foreign Press to Germany, the foreign Press was contrasted very unfavourably with the Government-controlled Press of Germany. By no artifice can the German Government escape responsibility for the vilification of the whole Catholic Church through the German Press and radio, as if the whole Church were a sink of rottenness and impurity.

A few instances must suffice. The *Völkischer Beobachter* is Herr Rosenberg's paper. It wrote:

The German People, and especially its young folk, know how to judge of people who convert the sacristy into a brothel, and whose perversion does not even shrink before the most sacred action of the Catholic Church, the Communion. . . . What parents conscious of their responsibility could now take the responsibility of entrusting their boys and girls to an organization over a thousand members of which are sexual criminals?²

Das Schwarze Korps is Herr Himmler's paper, issued from the official Party Press. It wrote:

That is the pestilential stench of a putrefying world; it stinks to heaven. We are referring to all those scandalous proceedings in those Church circles, both within and without the monasteries, in the midst of which not one crime is lacking from perjury

¹ The willing acceptance of the testimony of children in these cases stands in glaring contrast with the long practice of the German courts in respect to the evidence and charges of children. A whole library of legal books had been devoted to the *Psychologie der Kinderaussagen*. The German courts had been accustomed to receive the evidence of children and young people with the greatest caution. This is one of the clearest proofs of the political nature of the charges.

² April 30th, 1937.

through incest to sexual murder. . . . Behind the walls of monasteries and in the ranks of the Roman brotherhood what else may have been enacted that is not publicly known and has not been expiated through this world's courts? What may not the Church circles have succeeded in hushing up! All this is the expression and consequence of a system that has elevated into a principle that which is against Nature and of an organization that has withdrawn itself from public control.¹

The article concludes: 'We are actuated by no enmity to religion or Church in our demand for the State control of all Church organizations that work in public.'

Herr Rosenberg's paper would make the Immorality Trials an excuse for driving the Church out of the field of education.² The newspaper of the Secret Police would use them to bring the whole life of the Church under State control which means police control. The filthiest attack I have seen is in quotations from the speech said to have been delivered by Dr. Goebbels, ex-Catholic and Minister for Propaganda, in the Deutschlandhalle in Berlin on May 28th, 1937. The Government and Party cannot by any device escape complicity in, and responsibility for, this protracted and disgusting episode. It is only Germans who can tarnish German honour.

For months the Press and the radio overwhelmed the Church with filthy abuse. No public answer whatsoever could be made. Only from the pulpit could the Church speak, and even then not infrequently with disastrous consequences to the preacher. I may quote from one bishop's sermon:

I must also say a word about the trials which day by day are reported by the German Press in extended form; perhaps to some extent they are compelled to report them. This they do with such frequency and in such detail that every one is bound to ask the question, what is intended by the fact that all our newspapers are full of court cases which in all civilized lands and on other occasions in Germany are conducted *in camera*—to the prejudice to the morality and purity of our young people and to

¹ April 15th, 1937.

² Cf. *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, April 29th, 1937; *Nationalzeitung*, April 29th, 1937.

the prejudice of Germany's reputation before the world? It is no matter for wonder that upright men withhold their subscriptions and decline to tolerate in their houses newspapers which report in such nauseating fullness sins which, as the Apostle says, should not be so much as named among Christians. At any rate parents and teachers are in duty bound to keep these reports far from the eyes and hearts of their children.¹ What lies behind the fact that cases of this kind only get into the Press when they concern members of the Catholic priesthood and the orders, whereas not a word appears in the case of actions and convictions against persons from other circles?²

The Immorality Trials did little harm to the Church, but to the Party they have done irreparable harm, not least because the trustworthiness of its papers was less than ever accepted by the people.

It would seem necessary and at this point appropriate to indicate that the question of sexual morality is grave in Germany, and more particularly in connexion with the Party. It may be held to the credit side of the account that discipline has been exercised by the courts upon so many Party members, but it has to be remembered that, unless open scandal appear, offences of this kind can be indefinitely tolerated. Of this the outstanding example is Röhm.³

¹ According to *Kulturkampf*, January 19th, 1936, a German mother wrote in an official Nazi paper, *Die deutsche Kampfervin*: 'One must earnestly consider whether the souls of the young are not subjected to profound harm through too brutal representations, in image and word, of sexual crime and bestial atrocities of every sort such as are posted up in every street. One can almost always see such boards surrounded by children of all ages and hear them expressing their opinions on them. . . .' I take the reference here to be primarily to Julius Streicher's *Sturmer*, but not exclusively. I quote the passage not merely as a confirmation of the bishop's charge but also as a reminder that the National Socialist Party is not the German nation.

² So Archbishop Gröber in his pastoral letter of May 23rd, 1937, asked, why this absorbing concern to publish every detail of the immorality charges against the Church, while the prisons were full of political leaders of youth who had similarly gone astray, and why this branding of ecclesiastical defendants prior to the decision of the courts?

³ The moral problem within the Party is in Germany an open secret. A study of the decisions of the High Court (*Reichsgericht*) published in the *Juristische Wochenschrift* reveals the shocking increase in the number of homosexuality cases since the Revolution. Shortly after the Revolution the special department of the police concerned with homosexuality cases in Berlin was disbanded because they had so many names of Party members on their lists. In Bremen and in Hamburg so many cases appeared for trial under section 175

Many Christians would heartily approve in principle of a national organization of the country's youth to take the place of the old separated denominational organizations. The hesitancy felt by Christians in respect of the Hitler Youth is due in some parts of the country not merely to the teaching given to the youth but also to the moral influences by which they may be surrounded. In many cases (but I can offer no kind of exact estimate) boys before their dismissal from their Labour Service must sign a paper by which they undertake not to reveal the circumstances of their life there. A similar pledge is required from those who are released from concentration camps. These considerations point to an intangible but often pressing element in the situation as between the Government and the Church.

The Church was affected by legislation and sundry legal decisions during the year, but more significant than particular laws is the new idea of law and the spirit of its administration. In May Dr. Krämer, a high official with responsibilities for the National Socialist German Jurists' League, now renamed the League for the Protection of Justice, said:

The blood-community of the race . . . i.e. the nation, is the pivotal point of all earthly existence. The nation alone is a purpose in itself. Everything else is a means to an end and must serve the good of the nation, everything including justice and law. Justice is whatever is of benefit to the nation, whatever corresponds with the German feeling of justice, the unadulterated voice of God in the race-pure soul.¹

At a Congress of jurists at Leipzig Herr Hess, the Führer's deputy, said that the law must be regarded by National Socialism as an active servant of the community. The judge, if he wished to be a true judge of the People, must not be a narrow jurist but first of all a human being and a German (*Volksgenosse*).² We can hardly be surprised, therefore, that

of the criminal code that special courts had to be set up. The available evidence is not confined to any one part of the country. *v.* also Konrad Heiden's *Adolf Hitler* (Zurich, Europa Verlag, 1936—English translation, *Hitler, a Biography*, London, Constable, 1936), pp. 216 ff.

¹ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, May 17th, 1936.

² *The Times*, May 18th, 1936. For a formal statement of the new principles of law see *Das neue Strafrecht: grundsätzliche Gedanken zum Geleit*, issued this same year by Drs. Gürtner and Freisler (Berlin, von Decker, 1936).

the *Angriff*, Dr. Goebbels's paper, the official organ of the German Labour Front, was prepared to defend lynch-law in America as a 'healthy expression of the will for race-defence',¹ or that Captain Manfred, who was one of the conspirators to murder Erzberger, was appointed President of the Supreme Tribunal of the People.²

During the year there was much discussion of the significance of the new blasphemy law of the previous year.³ On December 1st came the new law concerning the Youth of the Reich.⁴ According to this new law 'the whole youth of Germany is included in the Hitler Youth'. In the Hitler Youth the young are to be trained 'physically, spiritually and ethically in the spirit of National Socialism for the service of the People'. The education of all the young throughout the Hitler Youth was entrusted to Baldur von Schirach, hereafter to be called 'Youth-Leader of the German Reich'. He was to have no superior except Herr Hitler. Baldur von Schirach said⁵ that this law was little more than a statutory recognition of the now existing situation; he promised to maintain the voluntary principle:

It is my purpose neither to erect in the forests of Germany heathen altars and introduce youth to any kind of Wotans-cult nor in any other way to hand over young Germany to the magical arts of any herb-apostles. On the contrary, let every one serve that religious persuasion to which he feels in conscience bound. The Hitler Youth is no Church, and the Church no Hitler Youth. The fellowship of which I am the leader and for which I am responsible will, so far as I and my subordinates are concerned,

¹ December 13th, 1936.

² *Kulturkampf*, September 25th, 1936. We may compare the appointment of Herr Steinhausel, one of those guilty of the murder of Dr. Dollfuss, to the headship of the police in Austria after the Anschluss; he signalized his appointment by bidding the police discard their rubber truncheons as 'unworthy of Germans' (*The Times*, March 15th, 1938). It is asserted in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* (No. 100, July 1938, p. 795) that 'Communism criminalizes politics, and legalizes criminality'. The same might well be said of National Socialism! We may, perhaps, compare the appointment of Dr. Muhs to high office in the Church ministry on December 5th. Dr. Muhs as Minister was just in time to stop the proceedings which he himself had inaugurated to take his name off the Church roll!

³ v. *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 328 ff., 671 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 1135.

⁵ *Völkischer Beobachter*, December 3rd, 1936.

be directed solely to the National Socialist State according to the mind of the Führer, and I promise the German public that the youth of the German Reich, the youth of Adolf Hitler, will fulfil their duty in the spirit of Adolf Hitler to whom alone their life belongs.

On December 9th Baldur von Schirach addressed the parents of Germany. He contrasted the classless Hitler Youth with the old class divisions:

Here with us these youths learnt again their faith in the ideal, their faith in their People and therewith their faith in a kindly and great God. Many misled clergymen have tried to represent me as an enemy of religious education. Their words found no echo among the young people themselves for the simple reason that they knew me better; for in the Hitler Youth I have never tolerated an atheist. He who swears allegiance to the flag of the Hitler Youth binds himself thereby, not merely to this flag, but at the same time also to a higher Power. . . . I leave to the churches the education of their youth according to the mind of their denomination; with this part of education I shall not interfere. My task was given me by the German Reich; I am responsible to the Reich for the physical, spiritual and ethical education of all young people according to the principles of the National Socialist idea of the State.

Since this new law 'has ended the conflict between the Hitler Youth and the denominational Youth Associations'; every opportunity is to be given the young people to attend church on Sundays.¹ On Sunday December 13th parents and children were invited to a 'morning festival' of the Hitler Youth at 10 a.m. under the motto 'he who loves his People proves it solely by sacrifice'.²

This law concerning the Hitler Youth must be considered together with the attack on the Church schools. The State was not yet in a position to compel membership of the Hitler Youth, but henceforward in principle the Hitler Youth was to include the whole youth of the nation. The Church was to be permitted to give religious instruction, and young people were to be permitted to attend church (though in practice this has constantly been made impos-

¹ *Germania*, December 10th, 1936.

² *Junge Kirche*, 1936, p. 1137.

sible), but the Church was to be strictly limited to purely religious training; the Church was to have no part either in the national educational system or in any training of the young except in purely religious matters. What we call 'Young Peoples' Societies' or 'Guilds' or 'Fellowships' were not to be allowed. Meanwhile both in school and in the Hitler Youth out of school the young people of the Church were to be trained in the spirit and principles of National Socialism and in dedication to Adolf Hitler 'to whom alone their life belongs'. If the Hitler Youth were not in theory compulsory, to remain outside meant for a boy not merely social ostracism but his being debarred from the outlets which all boys desire and, for the future, an insuperable barrier against his employment in public life.¹

In many little ways it was brought home to the Catholic Church this year that the law would take no cognizance of her scruples. Thus, for instance, the committee concerned with the rights of the family appointed by the Academy of German Law made it plain that no consideration could be given to the Catholic doctrine concerning divorce: 'that which is serviceable to the People is right, that which harms them is wrong.'² Again, the Munich courts decided that an objection to the Sterilization Law on religious grounds could not be upheld or considered.³ Further, the legal right of the priest, in distinction from his moral obligation, not to reveal the secrets of the Confessional was very gravely qualified.⁴

This seems a convenient place in which to mention an acute difficulty which cannot appear in the literature of the struggle. The priest in the Confessional must give advice in accordance with the settled principles of Moral Theology, but upon him rests the duty of applying these general principles to particular situations. The priest in these days is brought intensely difficult problems that arise in connexion

¹ Cf. *Kulturkampf*, March 12th, 1936. I have observed before that the situation varies greatly in different parts of the country, but there can be no doubt of the steady dechristianizing of the Hitler Youth by the withdrawal of the more moderate element in the leaders and the increase of the radical element.

² *Gesetzesvorschlag zu den Ehescheidungsgründen*. Quoted at length in *Junge Kirche*, 1936, pp. 692 ff.

³ *Ib.*, 1936, p. 737.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 892.

with Sterilization Laws or the schools or the Hitler Youth, and he has even to beware of emissaries of the Secret Police who approach the Confessional, nominally for advice, but really to entrap the priest into some observation or advice which will bring him under the generous and comprehensive category of an 'enemy of the State' or, in other words, a traitor. It is easy for a Christian to qualify for that category. Early in 1936 Fr. Wirth of the Redemptorists was declared unfit to give religious instruction because, amongst other similar offences, he had led the schoolchildren in prayer for those who were being tried under the Currency Laws.¹ In February Monsignor Wolker, the President of the Catholic Young Men's Association, with many of his colleagues was arrested on a charge of high treason. After four months he was released;² this did not mean that he had either been acquitted or condemned; his case was merely 'on ice'—till it might suit the Government to take it up again.³ These are but typical instances of unnumbered cases of arrest and police interference quite apart from the charges under the Currency Laws and the Immorality Trials. Monsignor Banasch, who was arrested in December of 1935,⁴ was released in March of this year.

The year 1936, therefore, marks a gradual worsening of the situation as between Church and State. The Currency Trials were still in progress, the Immorality Trials blacken the year, the elimination of the Church from the education of youth whether within school or outside is carried much farther. The apparent defeat of Dr. Hauer and the German Faith Movement early in the year meant only that the Church, instead of having to face an open enemy, must meet an insistent attack from one who stole the name of Christian and used it to cover the principles of the National Socialist Party. It was very natural that the name of Antichrist should often be on the lips of Christians.

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 23rd, 1936.

² *Katholische Kirchenzeitung für Düsseldorf und Umgebung*, May 24th, 1936.

³ *v. Germania*, June 7th, 1936.

⁴ *v. supra*, p. 64.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (*cont.*)

1937

WE may briefly summarize the situation at the beginning of 1937. National Socialism acknowledged its intention, and claimed its right, not merely to the sole direction of the nation's politics, but also to the unification of the nation in the ideas and principles of its *Weltanschauung*. There was no subterfuge about this. Confusion only surrounded the cryptic phrase 'positive Christianity' in the Party Programme. There was a vagueness here, but it was made wholly plain that no Christianity could be regarded as 'positive' which questioned or denied the basic principles of Blood, Race, and Soil or the quasi-Messianic position of Herr Hitler in the national life.

At the beginning of the Revolution the Catholic Church had attempted, wisely or unwisely, to come to terms with the Nazi Movement. She had removed the ban upon membership in the Party; she had concluded the Concordat. In the intervening months she had scrupulously kept the Concordat; the Centre Party had voted for the Empowering Act and had dissolved itself. The bishops had advised the faithful to vote for the Government in the Elections, had supported the return of the Catholic Saar District to the Reich, and in 1936 had approved the reoccupation of the Ruhr. Disaffection in Germany was not due to causes that we should call political.

The issue concerned the National Socialist philosophy or, rather, National Socialism as a religion. The 'positive Christianity' professed by the State and being imposed upon the whole nation, and more particularly on the young, was fundamentally incompatible with historic Christianity. The Dean of Chichester calls his valuable study of the Church conflict *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*; this title befits the conflict as regards the so-called Confessional Church in Germany. The Catholic Church was fighting not only, and indeed not primarily, for religious

freedom, but for the principles of a Christian civilization in Germany.¹

The Concordat was still nominally in force, but only because neither side had as yet thought best to denounce it. In spite of the letter and spirit of the Concordat the Church schools were being rapidly suppressed or turned into National Socialist schools; the Church work for youth was being made as difficult as possible, for, if membership in the Hitler Youth was not in form compulsory, it was the only avenue to public life and offered the only outlet for sport and social life for boys; the Church Youth Associations had not in fact been altogether suppressed, though individual associations had been put down by the police, and their funds confiscated; still, the Catholic youth who, in remarkable numbers, belonged to these Catholic associations, were thereby debarred from membership in the Hitler Youth, and were confined, more especially in theory, to strictly and exclusively religious activities. The participation of the priests in any form of education or work among the young, apart from religious services in Church, was being more and more curtailed. Similarly, membership in the national Labour Front with its promise of work, wages, and security was denied to those impressively many Catholic workers who, even so, preferred to remain members of the Catholic Associations. The Catholic daily Press had been destroyed; other Church journals had either been suppressed or limited to purely ecclesiastical affairs and theological discussions. Meanwhile the Church had been overwhelmed with prosecutions not only in the Currency Trials and the Immorality Trials, but also under the laws against the Communists and the old

¹ I do not wish to suggest that this was no concern of the Confessional Church. But the strong Barthian tendency in the thought of that Church made the phrase 'a Christian civilization' appear almost a contradiction in terms, and the extreme Erastianism of the Lutheran tradition in Germany made the thought of the Church severely unpolitical. Moreover, the Evangelical Church in Germany has been broken up by the heresy of the 'German Christians' supported by the Government. The Confessional Church, therefore, tends to say, 'the integrity of the Gospel is at stake', where the Catholic Church says, 'Christian civilization is at stake'. The difference in expression marks a great difference between the two Communions, but the one phrase does not contradict the other.

'Pulpit Paragraph' of Bismarck's time. While priests were imprisoned or fined for criticizing Herr Rosenberg and exercised their pastoral office in the Confessional at grave personal risk, Christianity and the Church were being constantly vilified on the platform and in the Press, no public answer being permitted. The bullying pressure exercised by the lower elements in the Party and the terror of the Secret Police, who were elevated above the common law, weighed upon laity and priesthood alike. Not merely Christians but all those who could not assimilate the new philosophy of Race and Blood and Soil were prevented from holding any public meetings, and could not even safely communicate with one another through the post or over the telephone; they would never speak above a whisper in a restaurant, nor in a taxicab if the driver could overhear.¹

It is difficult for those in English-speaking countries to accept such a situation as credible in Germany. But, while any 'persecution' of the Church is vigorously denied by German agents abroad, no such pretence is made at home. Herr Himmler, the Chief of the Secret Police, is reported to have said in an interview in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*:²

We persecute, with means which cannot be publicly declared for the sake of the unity of the nation, not only Communism but every other reactionary intrigue, every member of a denomination who meddles in politics, who thinks that he can settle political differences of opinion under the cloak of denominational quarrels. Likewise we persecute those who imagine that they may claim temporal powers for a denomination.

Similarly Herr Victor Lutze, Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops, admitted that brutal force (*brutale Gewalt*) had been used, and would be used, against opponents: "who is not

¹ With the sufferings of those outside the Church accused of political disaffection this book is not concerned. It may be observed, however, that in the first ten months of this year twenty-two persons were decapitated for 'high treason'. Twelve others, including women, were in November awaiting the like fate. Some had been under sentence of death for as long as two years, through which they had lived never knowing which day might be their last. Peculiarly poignant was the case of Liselotte Herrmann with her infant baby. All appeals for mercy had been set aside: v. *Baseler Nationalzeitung*, November 10th, 1937.

² *Kulturkampf*, February 12th, 1937.

for us is against us"; the totalitarian claim of National Socialism can know no compromise in this matter.¹

There were those at the Vatican like Cardinal Pacelli who well understood the radical nature of the German struggle; there were refugees from Germany such as Monsignor Kaas, once leader of the Centre Party, whose opposition to National Socialism was fundamental; but others, like Bishop Hudal,² now removed to Rome from Austria, took a more hopeful attitude to the Nazi Movement, and the Pope himself, in his perhaps exaggerated fear³ of Bolshevism, was naturally well disposed to any movement in Germany which offered itself as a bulwark against the Communist menace; moreover, there was still in the minds of many a hope that the maintenance of the Concordat in nominal existence might to some extent shelter and strengthen the position of the Catholic Church. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pope was slow to speak. All the more powerful was his solemn utterance when at last it came.

The Pope's Encyclical is dated Passion Sunday, March 14th, 1937.⁴ It is written in no uncertain tone. The Pope first reminds the faithful of the Concordat to which he gave his consent 'in spite of many serious misgivings'. But events since its signature 'disclose machinations that from the beginning had no other aim than a war of extermination'. The Church had kept loyally to the Concordat, but it must be admitted that 'to change the meaning of the agreement, to evade the agreement, to empty the agreement of all its significance, and finally more or less openly to violate the agreement, has been the unwritten law of conduct by the other party'. The persecution is frankly and accurately described—'the open campaign waged against the denominational school guaranteed by the Concordat', the 'nullification of the freedom of the vote for Catholics who should have

¹ *Reden an die S.A.: der politische Katholizismus* (München, Eher-Verlag, 1936), p. 13.

² Bishop Hudal's book is not obtainable. Some account of it will be found in Dr. Duncan-Jones's *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, pp. 212 ff.

³ Cf. W. Teeling, *The Pope in Politics* (London, Lovat Dickson, 1937).

⁴ It is printed in English as a pamphlet by the Catholic Truth Society (*H.* 272). My quotations are from this translation.



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POPE PIUS XI, ON THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS ORDINATION

From *L'Osservatore Romano*

the right to decide in the matter of education', the 'thousand forms of organized bondage in matters of religion', the 'blasphemies in word, writing and picture', the official suggestions that 'leaving the Church, and the disloyalty to Christ the King which it entails, is a particularly convincing and meritorious form of profession of loyalty to the present State', the 'cloaked and manifest methods of coercion by intimidation, by holding out the prospect of economic, professional, civic and other advantages', youth 'day by day' overwhelmed through Press and radio with productions hostile to the Christian faith, and called to endure misunderstanding, suspicion, contempt, denial of their patriotism, and manifold injury in their professional and social life.

National Socialism is represented as 'a substitute faith that has nothing in common with the faith of the Cross'. For the National Socialist 'in pantheistic vagueness equates God with the universe', he 'replaces a personal God with a weird impersonal Fate supposedly according to ancient pre-Christian German concepts', he 'takes the race or the people or the State or the form of Government, the bearers of the power of the State or other fundamental elements of human society . . . out of the system of their earthly valuation, and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even of religious, values, and deifies them with an idolatrous worship', he uses 'the thrice holy name of God as a meaningless label for a more or less capricious form of human search and longing'.

In opposition to National Socialism the Church must insist that 'the sacred books of the Old Testament are all God's Word, an organic part of His revelation', that the revelation of God in the Gospel of Jesus Christ 'knows no addition from the hand of man, above all, knows no substitution and no replacement by arbitrary "revelations" that certain speakers of the present day wish to derive from the myth of blood and race',¹ that he who sets any man beside

¹ This might seem in form almost intentionally to echo the famous declaration of the Barmen Synod of the Evangelical Church in 1934. But many in the Evangelical Church, inheriting the anti-rationalism of Luther and being deeply under the influence of Professor Karl Barth, are of opinion that any concession to a *theologia naturalis* is a qualification of this principle. Herein lies one of the outstanding differences between the two Churches in Germany.

Christ or, worse, above Him is 'a false prophet', that 'the picture of a German national Church' is 'the denial of the Church of Christ, a manifest apostasy from the command to evangelize the whole world, to whose fulfilment only a universal church can be commensurate', that 'revelation, in the Christian sense, is the word of God to man',¹ and that the same term should not be used for 'the "whispered inspirations" of blood and race'. The doctrine of original sin is firmly reasserted, as is the necessity for the Roman primacy. A particular warning is given against those who are attempting to use Christian phrases in a quite new sense, as if 'immortality' could describe the continued existence of the race, or grace be put on the same level with the gifts of nature.

The Pope asserts the *lex naturae* as universal, a *lex aeterna*:

Every positive law, from whatever law-giver it may come, can be examined as to its moral implications, and consequently as to its moral authority to bind in conscience, in the light of the commandments of the natural law. The laws of man that are in direct contradiction with the natural law bear an initial defect, that no violent means, no outward display of power, can remedy. By this standard we must judge the principle: 'What helps the people is right.'

In particular,

Laws or other regulations concerning schools that disregard the rights of parents guaranteed to them by the natural law, or by threat and violence nullify those rights, contradict the natural law and are utterly and essentially immoral. The Church, the guardian and exponent of the divine natural law, cannot do otherwise than declare that the registrations which have just taken place in circumstances of notorious coercion are the results of violence and void of all legality.

This notable document, then, is not merely a protest against indubitable persecution and a firm reassertion of the Christian Gospel; it also counters the romanticism of

¹ I think it is right to suppose that the phraseology here is again chosen with an eye to the faithful witness of the separated brethren of the 'Confessional Church'.

National Socialism with a coherent, catholic, and Christian philosophy of law and of the State.¹

The Pope might have complete freedom under the Concordat to address the faithful in Germany, but it was certain that, were the contents of his message known, it would be stopped at the frontier by the police. This encyclical is unique in two matters, that it was first published in German, and that it is substantially unobtainable in the language of its publication. It was printed in Germany, delivered by hand at the presbyteries on the Saturday night and in the early hours of Sunday morning; it was read at the Sunday morning Mass; by the evening substantially all the copies were in the hands of the police. Twelve printing-houses responsible for its appearance were suppressed.² But the Pope had spoken, and Germany had heard. To-day rare copies of the encyclical in German are passed surreptitiously by hand from Catholic to Evangelical and from Evangelical to Catholic.

It is not the way of National Socialists to argue with their opponents;³ moreover, it is not convenient to argue about a document which the police have withdrawn from circulation. But the encyclical was a severe blow to the Nazi Party; it greatly heartened the Catholics (and even the

¹ It seems to many to be the very great advantage of the Catholic Church over the Evangelical Church that the former has a consistent philosophy to set in the place of National Socialist doctrines, and it is believed that Herr Rosenberg regards the Dominicans, who are the Thomists *par excellence*, as his most dangerous enemies. It is argued, however, by teachers of the Evangelical Church that the whole Thomistic system rests upon a *communis sensus*, certain commonly accepted ethical and metaphysical concepts, that there is in fact between Christians and National Socialists no such *communis sensus*, and that National Socialism must be met solely by the assertion of the revealed Word of God. The conceptions of State and law held by the brethren of the Confessional Church are set forth with care by Dr. Alfred de Quervain in *Volk und Obrigkeit, eine Gabe Gottes* (Bruderrat der Evangelischen Kirche der Altpr. Union, 1937). I am disposed, however, to think, that there is even here something like an implicit *theologia naturalis* in the sense of St. Thomas, and that the difference between the two Churches is not quite so fundamental as is supposed on the Confessional side.

² Bishop von Preysing (*The Times*, December 6th, 1937).

³ In the official reply (*Deutsche diplomatisch-politische Korrespondenz*, March 25th, 1937) it was alleged that the unfriendly attitude of the Vatican had made it impossible for the State to bring the Concordat into full effect.

Evangelicals) in Germany; it disposed once for all of the contention (for foreign consumption) that the Church was not persecuted in Germany; and it made plain the final and irreconcilable opposition between Christianity and National Socialism. This last was of all the most important. National Socialism demands national unity and even unanimity. It was now more plain than ever that it could only attain its purpose in Germany by the destruction of the Christian Church.

The American Cardinal Mundelein about this time publicly referred to Herr Hitler in terms which the Nazis not unnaturally regarded as insulting. This proved a better text than the encyclical for their observations. Thus Herr Gunter d'Alquen, following Dr. Goebbels, took the occasion to say, 'We do not understand by tolerance the enduring, still less the support, of a decaying world which sets itself from far-away and foreign sources to lay German life under the yoke of a dogmatism and narrowness that deny Nature.'¹

But the Government was entirely unready to proscribe Christianity by name. The Catholic Church was at enmity with the State, but the State acknowledged Christ. Thus in March there appeared a special number of the *Stürmer*. It is strictly fair to take this number as representing the mind of the Government; for in the first place the editor, Herr Julius Streicher, is a high Government official and special friend of Herr Hitler; second, Herr Hitler does on occasion, at least temporarily, suppress the *Stürmer*, when he thinks it has gone too far; third, in April the paper published a number entitled 'Ritual Murder', containing a special message of commendation from the chief of the Secret Police, Herr Himmler.

On the front page, inset in heavy red type, we read: 'Comrades of the German People! When you have read this special number right through, for the first time you will have learned the true meaning of Christianity. Then you will know for the first time what Christ fought for, and why he had to die.' Later we read: 'Some people in Germany to-day reject Christianity as something "alien"; others, be-

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, May 30th, 1937.



**Verbrechen ist dem Juden Religion / Sadismus, seines Blutes Tradition,
So ist er Vampire - aller Menschheit Fluch / Er saugt ihr Blut und nie hat er genug**

JEWISH RITUAL MURDER

From *Der Stürmer*, April 1937

cause Christ was a Jew, and German people can learn nothing from a Jew. A third party sees a very special divine miracle in his being a Jew. . . . But the *Stürmer* will now explain the matter in a way which will finally open the eyes of all men.' Christ, it appears, was no Jew; 'you can search the whole world over for one Jewish carpenter'; moreover, had He been born a Jew, He would have behaved like one; besides, the Nordic races accepted Christianity; therefore Christ's teaching is in accord with Nordic, not with Jewish blood; it follows, then, that the Founder of Christianity must have been of Nordic race; look, too, at Albrecht Dürer's portrait of Him; there is not a Semitic trait in it; what courage and insight that shows in the artist! Thus Christianity is 'one of the greatest anti-Jewish movements of all time'. The Disciples themselves were not Jews, except, of course, the traitor Judas. Shortly before the Passover Christ entered Jerusalem publicly amid the plaudits of the non-Jewish population. 'The Passover is the Feast of Ritual Murder. The Crucifixion of Christ is the greatest ritual murder of all time.' 'From the earliest times the Christian Church made a serious and ominous mistake. They sought to convert the Jews or to force them to become Christians.'

The spirit and historical value of this production may be further gauged from this, that under the portrait of the Emperor Nero, who is praised for the murder of Poppaea, we read, 'Under him broke out the first Jewish world-revolution. He gave the order for its suppression and for the destruction of Jerusalem (*sic*). In doing this he carried out one of the greatest deeds in the history of the world'; and under the accompanying portrait of Poppaea is written: 'She came of noble race but was completely Judaized. In the end she gave herself up to prostitution in the brothels of Rome. She had gone over to Jewry.'

In the Christianity approved by the Nazi Party the Emperor Nero appears with the halo of a Christian saint. It is important to note that a writer in the 'German Christian' paper *Das Evangelium im Dritten Reich* could comment:

I must say at the outset that we German Christians have every reason to co-operate in the work of introducing this special

number throughout all sections of the German People; for it is calculated to enlighten very many and to open their eyes to implications of facts which they may not hitherto have realized. The number is a powerful defence of Christianity and of the Christian Church against its arch-enemy—Jewry.¹

I have before me a copy of a missive from the Secret Police to a pastor dated June 21st, 1937 (I omit names), in which the pastor is told that he must pay a fine of 50 marks, or go to prison for ten days, because in a sermon preached on May 30th, 1937, he had said 'that the principle, "serve thy People, then thou servest God", is untrue; first must a man serve God, and then can he also serve the People'. On July 3rd of this year Canon Buchholz was sentenced by a special court to three years' imprisonment, and three priests received shorter sentences, 'for having acted as "ringleaders" in a riot during a Corpus Christi procession'.² The suggestion that a number of priests organized a riot on the occasion of the Corpus Christi procession is one of many indications that National Socialism as a religion may be criticized as lacking a sense of humour.

But more important than these particular cases, significant though they are for the atmosphere of the time, is an official document not intended for the public eye and introduced by a commendation from Dr. Ley, the Leader of the Labour Front, entitled *Berufsständische Vereine als Machtinstrumente des politischen Katholizismus*.³ It will be remembered that as early as 1933 Dr. Ley had said⁴ that 'all the other Unions including the so-called Catholic and Evangelical Workers' Unions are to be deemed enemies of the State. . . . Therefore our fight is against them, and it is high time that they disappeared.' Dr. Ley had in mind the so-called *Berufsvereine* or vocational unions. It is matter for astonishment that, in spite of all sorts of pressure from the State and the police,

¹ March 28th, 1937.

² *The Times*, July 5th, 1937.

³ By Heinrich Härtle, published by the *Schulungsamt* of the German Labour Front and marked 'Intended for instructional purposes and not for publication'. It is *Folge C, Heft 1* of the *Schriftenreihe für die Schulungswalter der deutschen Arbeitsfront*. Dr. Ley's consent to the paper and his commendation of it are dated from Berlin on March 18th, 1937.

⁴ *v. supra*, p. 94, quoted Härtle, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

the Catholic unions had to a very large extent managed still to maintain themselves; in particular, the Catholic Workers' Union still existed, the *Kolpingsfamilie* still made provision for men in all manner of occupations, and the Women's Work was relatively untouched.¹ But the purpose of the Führer is to unify the nation; these associations must be brought to an end. When Catholics plead that these unions are protected by Article XXXI of the Concordat, it is to be replied that all these unions are themselves a breach of Articles XXXI and XXXII. Article XXXI declares the legitimacy of 'those Catholic organizations and Unions which serve exclusively religious, purely cultural and charitable, ends and are as such subject to the authority of the Church, but they must wholly abstain from political activity'. Article XXXII forbids the clergy membership in political parties or work for such parties. The Government proposes to contend, therefore, that these Catholic vocational unions are disguised political organizations, and that all these unions belong to Catholic Action which is 'the Church at work in the world';² all this organization, in effect, is simply the Centre Party in secret, still led by the clergy and incompatible with National Socialism; it is in practice a regular political Opposition.

In any ordinary sense of the term 'politics' the charge that the Catholic unions are a political Opposition is obviously untrue. For instance, the *Kolpingsfamilie* is an immense organization with its head-quarters at Cologne. The Secret Police with their rights of search have kept the closest watch upon the whole organization; it is perfectly certain that, could they have found the slightest trace of political activity, they would at once have taken the most ruthless and drastic action. The continued existence of these unions for so long is proof positive that the police have not been able to find evidence of political activity.

But the term 'politics', it seems, is patient of indefinite extension. This private document argues that in the famous encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* the Vatican

¹ A long and impressive list of Unions is given by Härtle, op. cit., p. 13.

² *Ib.*, p. 15.

with its 'truths of reason' passes from religion to politics. The National Socialist State tolerates religion, but not the politics of religion. When the Pope takes eternal life in the future as the norm by which to judge social politics, we have an internal contradiction. The Pope with his way of the Cross and his reward beyond the grave denies life, whereas Socialism affirms it.¹ Pope Leo says that all authority comes from God; 'this thesis is so nonsensical that it cannot be taken seriously. If all authority really came from God, then the Bolshevist Tscheka-State would also be from God.'² 'In those encyclicals the Vatican does not openly claim political power. It has chosen a different formula, i.e. the supreme authority (*Primat*) of the Church in the sphere of ethics. The sphere of the ethical, however, is so widely conceived that it includes the political also.'³ We must put an end to 'the spirit of the Centre Party in any form'.⁴ In other words an end must be made of these Church Associations.

The underlying principle is of the first importance. Religion is free, but a religion that concerns itself with the affairs of this world is transgressing its proper limits; the ethical is to be dissociated from the religious; politics, including all the life of man as a member of society, is the concern of the State alone. The State does not exist in the divine order that it may serve the supernatural end of man, and political regulations may not rightly be judged from the standpoint of man's final end. There are no 'truths of reason'; there is no divine eternal law to which the laws and political institutions of men, to be valid, must conform; the instincts of Blood, Race, and Soil, the immanent urge of the 'German soul', take the place of the Church's *theologia naturalis*. If religion is concerned with esoteric experiences and transcendental realities alone and has no relation to the affairs of this world, the term an 'ethical religion' really involves a contradiction, and the charge of 'political Catholicism' is not to be rebutted.

Meanwhile the attitude of the Government to the Pope's encyclical was clear and firm. In a sermon preached in the

¹ Härtle, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-2.

² *Ib.*, p. 32.

³ *Ib.*, p. 34.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 40.

Cathedral at Münster on May 30th the bishop, Count von Galen, reviewed the situation. He apologized for dealing with such matters in a sermon, but explained that, since the Church Press, including his official diocesan paper, had been suppressed by the police, he had no other means of addressing his own people. He quoted a letter he had received from the Secret Police in which the encyclical had been described as containing 'treasonable attacks on the National Socialist State' and as 'endangering the public order and confidence of the State'. He further quoted a letter addressed to the German bishops by Herr Kerrl, the responsible minister for Church affairs, in which he claimed that the encyclical was a gross breach of the principles underlying the Concordat: 'It stands in stark contradiction to the spirit of the Concordat and its express terms. The encyclical contains grievous attacks upon the well-being and the interests of the German State. It attempts to overthrow the authority of the Government, to damage the good reputation of the German State abroad, and, above all, to endanger the inner peace of the national life.' Neither the spirit nor the terms of the Concordat cover unfriendly action of that kind against the State.

The encyclical, said the bishop, had been received by the Church 'with extraordinary thankful joy'. The encyclical, said the Government, was treasonable. But still neither side was willing to declare open warfare.

The tension between the Catholic Church and the State being thus extreme, the Government viewed with the more alarm the Conference on 'Life and Work' held in Oxford in July and supported by all branches and sections of oecumenical Christianity except the Church of Rome. Representatives of the Evangelical Church in Germany were not permitted to attend this Conference, for it is a set principle of the régime to isolate them, so far as possible, from their co-religionists abroad. The trend of the discussions at Oxford, regularly relayed by agents to Berlin, showed that the Christian world at large, and not merely the Papacy, was well aware of the religious situation in Germany, and the message sent by the Conference to the persecuted brethren in

Germany raised a storm.¹ It did not escape notice that in the message sent to Germany by the Conference there was a note hitherto unheard in Protestant manifestoes: 'We note the gravity of the struggle in which not your Church alone but the Roman Catholic Church as well is engaged against distortion and suppression of Christian witness, and for a training of the young in a living faith in Jesus Christ as Son of God,² and King of kings and Lord of lords.' The message thus hinted at a united Christian Front against National Socialism, even though the schism of the Reformation remained unhealed.

Count von Preysing, Bishop of Berlin, in his pastoral letter of July 11th declared that the Catholics had never felt themselves so firmly united with their separated brethren nor been so closely bound to them as at the present time. The Message of the Oxford Conference heightened the shock of the encyclical and led to a campaign on the part of Herr Rosenberg and others to prove that the true Luther was on the side of National Socialism.³ The *Angriff* was very indig-

¹ The message is printed in *The Churches Survey their Task: the Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937, on Church, Community and State*, with an Introduction by Dr. Oldham (London, Allen & Unwin, 1938), pp. 275 ff., and in *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany*, by Dr. Duncan-Jones, pp. 309 ff. It was generally represented in the German Press that the Oxford Conference stood for 'Liberalism in a Church dress' and 'the ideology of the League of Nations in the sphere of religion' (*Völkischer Beobachter*, July 11th, 1937; *v. ib.*, October 11th, 1937; cf. also *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 24th, 1937).

² This title is perhaps used here with special reference to a famous speech by Herr Kerrl on February 13th of this year in which he is reported to have said, 'The Catholic Bishop, Count Galen, and the Evangelical Superintendent Zoellner had wanted to bring to my attention what Christianity is, namely, it concerns the recognition of Jesus Christ as Son of God. That was laughable and irrelevant.' Herr Kerrl denied this later (*Völkischer Beobachter*, November 25th, 1937); but Dr. Otto Dibelius was brought before the (ordinary) courts for an open letter in reply, and in spite of Herr Kerrl's denials was acquitted. Herr Kerrl's speech was delivered before the presidents of the regional and provincial Church Committees of the Evangelical Church.

³ This interesting episode, signalized by Herr Rosenberg's tract *Protestantische Rompilger* (München, Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1937) and gathered round the phrase 'Treason to Luther', falls outside our inquiry, but we may note, as a comment upon Herr Rosenberg's plea that his theological opinions are unofficial, that the Protestant Dr. Künneth's reply was seized by the police before publication. The issue of *Das Schwarze Korps* of September 2nd is of especial importance in this connexion. See also two articles by Wilhelm Brach-

nant with the Bishop of Berlin for having prayers offered in the Catholic churches for the Evangelical pastors in prison;¹ it accused him of being a diplomat and recruiting allies against the isolation of his Church, but undoubtedly his motive is here misinterpreted. It has been given to National Socialism to do more for the healing of the tragic breach in Western Christendom than has been achieved by all the controversy of four hundred years.

In June came the arrest of Fr. Mayer of Munich, a war veteran who in earlier years had supported Herr Hitler. This led to a remarkable declaration from Cardinal Faulhaber;² more important, he said, than the personal aspect of the case was its significance:

It is a sign that the *Kulturkampf* for the destruction of the Catholic Church has entered a new phase. The decisive struggle is approaching. Only recently we were told by a high State authority that the Churches now remain as the only disintegrating element in the unity of the German people. These words made the scales fall from our eyes. There is only one enemy now, apparently—the Church. Nothing more is said about Bolshevism and Public Enemy No. 1. . . . This hour is deadly serious. The Church is persecuted as the Church of Christ.

During the latter half of the year the official Press concerned itself rather with the Evangelical than with the Catholic Church; it is possible that behind the scenes attempts were being made to patch up the quarrel with the Vatican,³ but nothing came of them, and in November there were rumours that the Führer was contemplating decrees setting up 'the National Socialist Church'.⁴ The lull, however, if we may call it such, in some of the later months of the year was not without incidents in different parts of the country. The following may be taken as typical: the famous Convent of the English Ladies, which had been founded in the seven-

mann in the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* for January and February 1938 on 'Alfred Rosenberg und seine Gegner', 'Warfare against Obscurantists and Protestant pilgrims to Rome is a necessity.'

¹ *The Times*, July 15th, 1937.

² I quote from the account in *The Times*, July 5th, 1937.

³ v. *The Times*, August 5th, 1937.

⁴ *Prager Presse*, November 11th, 1937; v. *infra*, p. 190 f.

teenth century to provide an education for the daughters of the English Catholic aristocracy who were suffering persecution, was suppressed and turned into a Museum of Sports.¹ In Württemberg a Catholic schoolboys' organization called Neudeutschland was suppressed under the Law for the Protection of the People and State; its possessions were confiscated.² Double membership of the Hitler Youth and Catholic Youth Associations was forbidden.³ A high school official in Münster was dismissed solely on the ground that his attitude to the denominational school was 'irremediably at variance with the National Socialist Movement and the leadership of the State'.⁴ At least ten Teachers' Unions were suppressed under a law promulgated by the Minister of Education on May 27th.⁵ Seven hundred and fifty nuns were turned out of Bavarian schools in this year,⁶ and the *Völkischer Beobachter* could boast that 'the struggle for the school is over so far as Munich is concerned'.⁷

Even what might be regarded as details were not overlooked; the Hitler Youth were encouraged to refuse Christian music,⁸ and kindergartens themselves were attacked.⁹ The higher Catholic schools in Berlin were forbidden by the Minister for Education to receive any more pupils into the

¹ *L'Osservatore Romano*, November 19th, 1937. These Sisters are trained teachers. The Brazilian Government invited them to settle in Brazil. The German Government refused them passports, but offered to reinstate them as teachers if they would give up their habits and their vows. I regret that I cannot quote my authority for these statements.

² June 18th, *Junge Kirche*, 1937, p. 559.

³ *Ib.*, p. 594. If it appear to the reader that regulations enacted once seem to be re-enacted in another year, and that organizations once suppressed are yet later again suppressed, he should remember that the great Catholic organizations (such as the Young People's Work or the Workers' Unions) are all constituted as unions of diocesan societies. The General President is simply *primus inter pares* with the diocesan presidents. The police as a rule have not disbanded the great organizations by proceeding against their head-quarters but by dissolving first one and then another of the diocesan societies. Since the Revolution the (always very relative) autonomy of the great organizations has been much reduced; the control of the bishops in the diocesan societies has become more active.

⁴ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 19th, 1937.

⁵ Some of these were Evangelical (v. *Evangelische Unterweisung*, 1938, Heft i, p. 17).

⁶ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, February 20th, 1938.

⁷ South German edition, quoted in *Kulturkampf*, February 12th, 1937.

⁸ *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, March 4th, 1937.

⁹ *L'Osservatore Romano*, March 12th, 1937.

first form;¹ this implied, of course, the rapid extinction of the schools. On June 10th forty members of the Secret Police occupied the archiepiscopal offices in Cologne and after an extensive search confiscated a number of documents including letters from the Vatican to the Cardinal.² The Catholic Women's Teachers' League was dissolved; its membership lists and funds were confiscated.³ The Catholic Young Men's Associations in the Münster, Paderborn, Trier, and Limburg dioceses were suppressed under the Law for the Protection of People and State; the offence, as given in one official statement, was that the association in question has 'organized excursions and rambles at some of which identical clothing was worn, has indulged in sport and games of various kinds, and has organized and carried on social evenings and other such events in a predominantly secular manner'.⁴ In Württemberg a decree forbade the use of the Old Testament in the schools.⁵

Since such a catalogue of details conveys no vivid picture, one incident, by no means without parallel, may be quoted at length.⁶ The National Socialist teacher had removed the large cross which had always stood in the schoolroom at Konnersreuth:

On Sunday February 18th, after attending Mass in the parish church, about 100 persons, mostly men, betook themselves to the teacher's house. On arriving in front of the house three men went up to the teacher and politely requested him to return the cross. The people of Konnersreuth wanted then and there to carry the cross back to the school. The teacher refused to give it back. Meanwhile the police had stepped in. The constable took down the names of a few people, but was invited by the men to take down the names of all present. No one moved. All declared: 'We will remain here until we get our cross, even if it means staying here the whole day.' In the meantime an armed customs-

¹ *Kulturkampf*, April 17th, 1937.

² *Ib.*, July 5th, 1937. Similarly papers were seized from the palace of the Bishop of Berlin (*The Times*, December 6th, 1937).

³ *Kulturkampf*, September 23rd, 1937.

⁴ The Bishop of Berlin (*The Times*, December 6th, 1937); *v.* also *Kulturkampf*, November 12th, 1937.

⁵ *New York Times*, November 9th, 1937.

⁶ From the Bishop of Speyer in the Supplement to his official gazette, March 6th, 1937. I cite in the main the translation in *Kulturkampf*, April 17th, 1937.

house official, who was returning from one of his rounds, had made his appearance with a police-dog. He conferred with the teacher and the constable inside the teacher's house. He then told the people to depart, or he would set his dog at them. No one moved; he therefore threatened them with his revolver, unless they dispersed at once. As still no one moved, he drew his revolver and pointed it at the crowd. Several men at once went up to him and declared in a loud voice: 'We are ready to die for the Cross at any time! We went through the war and were wounded several times but never deserted our post.' They were men with six, seven, eight, and nine children. Whereupon the official put the revolver back in his pocket and went away. Later a motor-car arrived with a reinforcement of six policemen, and this was followed by more officials on motor-cycles. Soon afterwards a high bailiff also arrived, who collected information from the teacher, the school-superintendent and certain members of the crowd. Next day, the prefect of the district accompanied the bailiff to Konnersreuth, and the same evening the cross was brought back to its place in the school by the Konnersreuth constable.

It had been anticipated that Herr Hitler would make some reference to the Church conflict at the Party Meetings at Nürnberg in the autumn, but, possibly owing to the presence of foreign diplomatic representatives, the subject was not mentioned. Instead, a 'national prize'—a German substitute Nobel Prize—was awarded to Herr Alfred Rosenberg. Apparently another German, Dr. Furtwängler, was expected to get the prize, and Herr Rosenberg's name was substituted almost at the last moment—so, at least, it was believed in Berlin. In any case the crowning of Herr Rosenberg, the author of the *Mythus*, who had followed his anti-Roman *To the Obscurantists of Our Time* by his recent *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome*, was a clear and public hint of Herr Hitler's policy in regard to the Church. Herr Rosenberg's line of thought, as expressed in many speeches, was that a new German Church must arise to withstand Rome and those Protestants who were traitors to Luther; the age of the old dogmatisms and of judaized religion is over; 'the era of People and Race has been ushered in by us'.¹ In

¹ *The Times*, November 1st, 1937.

a speech delivered on October 11th¹ Herr Rosenberg said:

We were conscious that the National Socialist Revolution meant a call to battle against the powers that once ruled Germany, the Jews, the Social Democrats and the Centre Party. . . . When we speak of National Socialist *Weltanschauung*, we believe at any rate that politics is only the outward side of such an inward attitude, an attitude that includes the whole life of the individual man and finally, as we hope, will one day suffuse the whole life of the nation also. A *Weltanschauung* is, first and foremost, determined by three elements, by religious-metaphysical faith, by scientific conviction and by struggle for definite character-values and the scale of these values. . . . It is at least our duty to see to it that there shall never again be any return to such treason to People and Land as the Centre Party and Social Democracy prepared in 1917 and carried through in 1918. We can only achieve this if we make the claim to the sole education of the whole of the coming generation. The coming generation must be brought up only by those who have once saved Germany before its destruction. And Germany was not saved by the prayers of the Centre-people but by the sacrificial battle of the National Socialist Labour Party. . . . Rather we are profoundly convinced that, if there be a heaven, one who fights nobly and bravely for Germany will get there before one who goes about to betray his People with a prayer on his lips.

On the day that Herr Rosenberg made his speech Dr. Goebbels dedicated a National Socialist holy place. The event is recorded in the *Völkischer Beobachter* under the heading (in letters an inch high) 'Political Church of National Socialism'. This phrase is of great significance as indicating a new phase in the struggle. In the course of his sermon (for such his address must be styled) Dr. Goebbels said:

We are always gathering the People about us, we are always preaching the ideals whereby we have become great, to the end that not only our generation may remain National Socialist, but that all generations after us also for centuries may be National Socialist. . . . We do the Churches no wrong; on the contrary. . . . They no longer find any proper relationship with the People because they no longer understand how to address the People in the right way. A People that has endured four years of war and

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, October 11th, 1937.

fifteen years of Marxism has no longer any understanding for theological hair-splitting. . . . We come together to speak with the People. We feel ourselves to be the political chaplains (*Seelsorger*) of the People and are persuaded that it must be our task to lessen and mitigate the cares with which the soul of our People is burdened. I see that, too, as the noblest task of this shrine which we dedicate to-day. Here the People should seek and find uplifting and edification. This shrine should be a political Church in which century after century men shall be trained to be true National Socialists.

Dr. Goebbels expressed his joy at being the first to stand in the 'pulpit' of this shrine:

Fifty and a hundred years hence there will stand here men who will implant the same ideals and like ideas in the hearts of the men who then shall be gathered here. Again the thought of fellowship and national solidarity shall be preached here. . . . We shall then be gone. But the German People will be living and will read in these stones the greatness of our time. Our voices will be silent. Only our names, mayhap, will be wafted to those distant times. But the stones will then speak; they will use the great, monumental and heroic language which we have spoken. They will proclaim then the work of the Führer. . . . Here for all time, for years, centuries, millennia, be the word of the Führer proclaimed pure and unfalsified! May this shrine be a political Church of National Socialism! May really German men and truly German women ever gather here in the spirit of the Führer to edify themselves with his teachings and to dedicate themselves to his work! In this sense I declare this shrine open, and to-day for the first time let our old battle-cry resound: Adolf Hitler—Victory! Victory! Victory!

This event marks a turning-point. It was, indeed, no new thing that National Socialism should be represented as a religion, but this is the first public official adoption of the term 'Church' for a National Socialist shrine. The attempt to win over the Christian Church is, it seems, to be abandoned. Christianity is not to be proscribed¹ but squeezed out; in its place is to come the National Socialist religion

¹ Apparently about this time both Herr Hitler and Dr. Goebbels took occasion to describe themselves as 'true Christians', the one at the opening of the Winter Aid Campaign and the other at Segeberg (*Kulturkampf*, November 2nd, 1937).

and the National Socialist Church. A few days later Herr Rosenberg entered a long unused Christian Church (the Alltagskirche in Torgau) and dedicated it as a National Socialist shrine, a 'worthy centre of German devotion'.¹

The *Nationalsozialistisches Monatsheft* for October gave a list of recent decrees indicating the increasing de-christianization of the national life: (a) Officials and Party members who had been members of Masonic Lodges or 'the Peace League of German Catholics' or any similar organizations must be dismissed or at least lose all chance of promotion. (b) Catholic and Evangelical youth were forbidden to organize camps or recreation hours without special permission of the police. (c) Scholarships for theological students were to be made available only to those distinguished for their National Socialist activities. (d) All private persons and organizations were prohibited from putting out any flag except the swastika; that is, the Church flag may not be used. (e) Sisters and nurses who were members of denominational organizations were forbidden membership in the German Labour Front. (f) District-Leader Bürckel² decreed that any utterances hostile to the State made by priests or pastors should be reported, so that such persons might be dismissed from their posts as religious teachers in schools.

This list is by no means complete. We may add that in February the Secret Police indicated to the Bishops' Conference at Fulda that Catholic Retreats were not immune from the concern of the police.³ In the same month orders were given that the names of those who left the Church were not to be read from the pulpit or otherwise published.⁴ In the summer charitable collections were permitted only under special circumstances.⁵ In May official recognition was accorded to the frankly heathen movement of General Ludendorff and Mathilde his wife.⁶ Later in the year Dr.

¹ *Völkischer Beobachter*, October 18th, 1937.

² Who in 1938 was appointed to the control of Austria.

³ *Kirchliches Handbuch*, xx, 1937/1938, p. 63.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 64. What lies behind the recognition of General Ludendorff's Movement is not fully known. The event is probably to be regarded as a blow to Herr Hitler, for such recognition of heathenism was not in accord with his policy, and there was an estrangement between him and the General. It is

Frank issued 'Leading Principles' for the impending German Penal Law; two of the principles deal with religious offences:¹

No. 30. Attacks upon the religious feeling of the German People springing from an atheistic attitude and aimed against the 'Belief in God', must be punished by law. Offence to the religious attitude of the German People coincides with, and is equivalent to, blasphemy. Such an attitude can also find expression in the profanation of religious Services, places and objects.

No. 31. The general regulations with regard to the 'Protection of Honour' or the 'Disturbance of public Peace' shall cover all those attacks on religious feeling which, though not springing from an atheistic attitude, nevertheless present themselves as an offensive disregard of the religious convictions of other members of the national community or as disturbing to the peace and unity of that community. There is no warrant for giving particular consideration in the impending Penal Law to religious communities and their institutions and officials.

Only this is plain, that any utterance offensive to National Socialism as a religion would be a penal offence under the blasphemy laws.²

Towards the end of November Herr Kerrl, the Minister for Church affairs, delivered a very significant speech in the course of which he said³ that religion and *Weltanschauung* had always grown from a common root, but that the official churches had unhappily not always kept within their purely religious limits. National Socialism was a religious movement. National Socialism had to see that under no circumstances should there be a political misuse of religion, but it was not its task to support the churches by contributions

certain, however, that, as soon as this recognition was accorded, Church leaders received instructions that General Ludendorff's Movement was not to be publicly criticized by the Church. There is no reason to suppose that the General received similar instructions to withhold his attacks on Christianity.

¹ *Kulturkampf*, German edition, October 8th, 1937.

² Professor Klee, a Nazi jurist, maintains that 'legal protection for the old Jewish God, as was provided still by the courts of the Reich in accordance with Volume 56 of the Decisions, can no longer enter into the question' (*Deutsches Strafrecht*, Nos. 10 and 11, 1937). It would appear that Herr Streicher instituted legal proceedings in order to prove his contention that 'the Jewish criminal God, Jehovah, no longer enjoys legal protection in Germany': v. *Kulturkampf*, September 3rd, 1938.

³ *Volkischer Beobachter*, Munich, November 25th, 1937.

and taxes. National Socialism had shown itself to be an absolutely positive Christianity. The Churches had had much to say about a faith that could move mountains, but they had not produced acts to correspond. Then came one who gave these words an unheard-of meaning; there was one who said, 'Believe on the mission that God himself has vouchsafed to you. Know truly that it is not a question of speeches but of deeds, and be certain that God set you in this world that as Germans you might care for Germany. Then you will see how the miracle does not descend from heaven, but how our faith will achieve it.' Enormous sums had been paid to the two great Christian Churches. The two Churches together had received annually from the State 105 million marks. In addition to that the Church taxes collected by the State had amounted to 200 million marks annually. How then could the State be called anti-Christian and irreligious? Yet in spite of the proven excessive religious tolerance the clergy had complained. There were 7,000 convictions to prove this. Had the Churches kept to their religion, there would have been no trouble. But in Germany the State must rule, and one individual lead. It behoved the rest to follow in discipline and obedience. It had been the policy of the Government to turn the politicizing Churches into truly religious communities. The Churches had no right to claim that education should be along the lines they approved; it was the task of National Socialism to bring up the young as it thought best. The National Socialist State had no interest in founding a National Socialist State Church. 'Christ did not teach us to fight against the National Socialist doctrine of the Race. Rather he waged an unheard-of warfare against Judaism which for that reason slew him upon the Cross. The teaching of Christ himself does not in the slightest degree contradict National Socialism.'

Two comments will be in place. First, the State in Germany has collected taxes for the Church; these have been no more voluntary than the payment of tithe in England. The State could without perfidy decline to collect these taxes and place the Church offerings upon a voluntary basis. But the contribution of the State, apart from the taxes, is a

grant in lieu of the income once derived by the Church from property taken over by the State. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the old German Reich set up a committee to legalize the enormous secularization of Church property which had recently been carried out. This committee issued a Memorandum (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) which on February 25th, 1803, received the force of law. The legality of this great act of secularization has been questioned,¹ and authorities have, further, held that the obligation of the German States to pay the subsidies was moral rather than legal. Of the moral obligation there can be little doubt. On November 30th, 1937, Herr Kerrl definitely announced that the State subsidies would be gradually withdrawn.²

Second, Herr Kerrl's denial that the State was interested in founding a National Socialist State Church involves no repudiation of the words or actions of his colleague, Dr. Goebbels. The Nazis have no intention whatever of setting up a new corporation similar to the Evangelical Church in Germany as the State Church. National Socialism as a religion involves no clergy; its priests are to be the Party Members; it is to be so wholly co-ordinated with the State as to have no separate existence. The 'political Church' is to be regarded as the State in its religious aspect. 'The teaching of Adolf Hitler—therein is to be found the Gospel of the German people', said Dr. Ley, the head of the Labour Front.³ 'Our belief is the Fuhrer's world-philosophy, and, while we hold that belief, we can have no other: no man can serve two masters. . . . Clearly we can submit only to ourselves and have no need to take up the Cross. . . . Only in the community of our nation can we save our souls.' Thus Dr. Mutschmann, District Leader of Leipzig.⁴ This religion requires no organization of the Church other than the Government itself.

On December 9th Herr Himmler's organ *Das Schwarze*

¹ On the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, v. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd ed.), v. 33 ff.; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ix. 103 f.

² *The Times*, December 2nd, 1937.

³ *Ib.*, November 1st, 1937.

⁴ *Ib.*

Korps published a very important article in exposition of Herr Kerrl.¹ There are three possible solutions of the relations of Church and State, it says; according to the medieval solution the Church governs the State. This wish-dream is over. The Protestant solution was that the Church faithfully support the State, but modern Liberalism has disrupted that. The final solution, the culmination of a plain historical evolution, is that the Churches be restricted to 'salvation', to the care of souls, to the cultivation of the creeds of those human beings who for this purpose come together in the religious bodies.

National Socialism [said Herr Kerrl] is a religious movement which not only fully recognizes the bond to God and the Divine order, but lives it. Thus the State itself is the living form of the national community—faith in God expressed in experience. . . . The National Socialist State wants to bring into expression the Divine order in every sphere of life; it supports what is natural, it fights what is against Nature. This is our State Religion. This State Religion must stand above the denominations. It must be independent of dogmas which, we feel, come from men, however good and pure of will. There can be only one Divine order. How the individual human being experiences it, how he explains it symbolically, in what ways he sees it revealed, is his own concern. He may make up his own views, or he may submit to the interpretation offered him by denominations. . . . The denominations are practical associations of men wishing to employ a mediator between God and men. Those who believe in God² hope to be able to do without this mediator, but they are not a concrete association, and consequently not a denomination. It is important to make this point, for the denominations like to make it appear as if another of their kind was going to come into existence, and as if the State intended to found a State Church in addition to the existing Churches. Nothing lies further away from it than this.

The 'political Church' is to be a corporate expression of religion, but not a legal corporation. The Christian Churches are not to be suppressed, but confined to the pieties and disputations that may interest or amuse their members.

Das Schwarze Korps next turns to finance. It explains that

¹ I quote from the translation in *Friends of Europe: Monthly Survey of German Publications*, December 1937.

² The German is *Gottgläubige*, a quasi-technical term.

the moneys received by the Church from the hands of the State represent a voluntary obligation which 'derives from a time when the Churches were still co-workers, helpers of the State, educators and trustees of its citizens, effective moral supports'. But all that is changed to-day. The State itself must to-day perform all these offices; it alone must educate, and, so far from receiving moral support from the Churches, it has to spend much money and energy in resisting the State-endangering efforts of those within the Churches. Thus the moneys provided by the national community for cultural and social services must be placed where such services are rendered. But this is not all:

We shall not be able to avoid the painful task some day to decide to whom the so-called Church property belongs by law. One may say here that these properties have arisen through the co-operation of all citizens and at a time when State and Church were still a unity. Those who supported this did not do so under the impression of contributing to a private institution, which does not take upon itself responsibilities for State and Community. Hence it cannot be understood that now suddenly such community-property is to be the legal property of the Churches, which now have only the name in common with the former idea of the Church. The same applies to 'Church' schools and other institutions, a communal property the administration of which has been left to the Church as the main bearer of cultural equipment, but certainly not with the idea that in this way it should become the property of a private institution.

On December 11th Herr Kerrl made a speech to clear up certain misunderstandings to which this article had given rise. 'In general, however,' observed the Berlin correspondent of *The Times*, 'his remarks suggested that there had been no misunderstanding.' But he seems to have made some qualification to the complete sequestration of all Church means; the more politically trustworthy Churches showed themselves to be, the larger subsidies they might expect. He concluded his speech by protesting against a declaration drawn up by the leaders of the Evangelical Church. They had asserted 'in incredible language that God demanded that certain Church leaders should be responsible to the

nation'. The life of the German nation, he said, 'was entrusted to one man alone, who was able to bear this highest responsibility before God'.¹

More significant than the speeches for public and foreign consumption are the private instructions given to Party Members and the general tendency of the National Socialist Press. Once again the privately circulated *Schulungsbrief* gives clear testimony. This paper, which with such endless repetition must be very tedious reading for teachers, is very largely concerned with the reinterpretation of German history. In particular, the Middle Ages must be regarded as an almost wholly lamentable interlude between the original German heathenism and the rise of National Socialism. The Medieval Church set up a reign of terror (*Schreckensregime*);² celibacy is a source of degradation to the life of the people (*eine volksbiologische Schadenquelle*).³ St. Paul is the arch-enemy; his Jewish intellect served to destroy the simplicity and beauty of the original German spirit (*Germanentum*). Under his influence Christianity subjected the body to the soul and taught the sinfulness of the flesh; motherhood is the true destiny of women, but through the influence of St. Paul and the Old Testament the conversion of Germany to Christianity meant the depression of womanhood.⁴ Herr Rosenberg's *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome* is especially praised for representing the Germans as 'originally noble' and in no need of grace.⁵ The Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church, 'both starting from the promises of Jahweh, rejecting the idea of Race and preaching "one Shepherd and one flock"', represent thereby a 'Universalism', which tends to be negative if not positively hostile to the National Socialist consciousness.⁶ So 'we look for the day when there is such purity and integrity in all Germans that they give honour to historical truth also without regard to their love for a figure of Jesus or Church'.⁷

¹ *The Times*, December 13th, 1937.

² March 1937, p. 84. Cf. February 1937, pp. 60 ff.

³ Article in July number. Cf. October number, pp. 407 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, March 1937, pp. 83 ff., 89, 99. Cf. *ib.*, February 1937, pp. 60 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, October 1937, p. 413.

⁶ *Ib.*, September 1937, p. 366.

⁷ *Ib.*, February 1937, p. 66.

More significant because more private is a document entitled 'Directions for the organization of cultural services in the S.A.'¹ It is commended by Chief-of-Staff Lutze as serving the uniformity of practice in the S.A. (the Storm Troops). We have here, therefore, official instructions given to S.A. leaders.

'We desire to abstain', it says, 'from forms which are similar to Church celebrations. These forms are dead. And our National Socialist philosophy is not a substitute but something new. . . . In the whole organization of our cultural services we must give expression to the power of our fellowship and the common action of our faith.' 'So to-day there is the celebration pre-eminently of two occasions of a personal kind to which we must give organized cultural expression in terms of our mutual bond in the S.A. They are these, weddings and funerals.' 'The leading ideas of our "little gatherings" can be more exactly defined. On these occasions they may be Comradeship, Duty, German Faith, the Führer.' Again, 'the notion of Christmas rites as celebrated in an Evangelical Meeting House coalesces as little with our philosophy as does the singing of carols'. For Christmas must be substituted the celebration of the winter solstice.

A gathering for a solstice-celebration must be so organized that the population will be gripped and carried away by the strength of our faith and by the power of our People. The People must realize that what the S.A. does on these occasions is not arbitrary but is an expression of something in their inner experience that corresponds with a religious Service (*Glaubensdienst*). . . . Such is our warrior spirit that we are justified in holding a gathering of our faith at a shrine previously occupied in our German land by a philosophy alien to our own. In this case we suppress the alien spirit by the strength of our faith. . . . Here we must beware of attacking these alien philosophies by mentioning them or subjecting their customs to public criticism. We suppress them by the force of our faith that finds expression in our own usage. . . . Of set purpose the gatherings of Faith, Home, Battle, and the like should be held upon a Sunday morning. Hereby Sunday morn-

¹ *'Nur für Dienstgebrauch! Richtlinien für die kulturelle Dienstgestaltung in der S.A.'* (S.L. die Oberste S.A. Führung, Chef No. 11111 N.F.D. München, den 1sten Juli 1937. Verteiler V. Nr. 16.)

ing preserves, as times change, its definite significance for the S.A. and through them for the people at large. Hence is evolved a custom which for the population will become as customary as once the regular journey to the service of a philosophy alien to us. Herewith we lay claim to the hours in which men are prepared for festal celebration. What form the summons to our gathering on Sunday should take must develop out of the necessities of the situation and experience. We cannot determine to-day whether it should be a recruiting march with a musical display or with songs, or whether we should avail ourselves of a summons to a common gathering. In any event it is our duty to put forth an emphatic summons to the Faith-Service of our philosophy, precisely as a philosophy that is alien to us does with its Church bells. It should hardly be necessary to say that the sponsors and representatives of an alien philosophy have no business at our gatherings and our arrangements—not to mention any opportunity of putting in a word. It is also self-evident that neither S.A. units nor musical bands nor individual Storm Troopers should put themselves at the service of a philosophy that is alien to us. . . . In the preparation of a room for a gathering the following point is to be observed as a rule. . . . First . . . all symbols of a past age should be covered up or removed, such as busts of earlier rulers, . . . pictures of the saints, Crucifixes, public house pictures and the like.

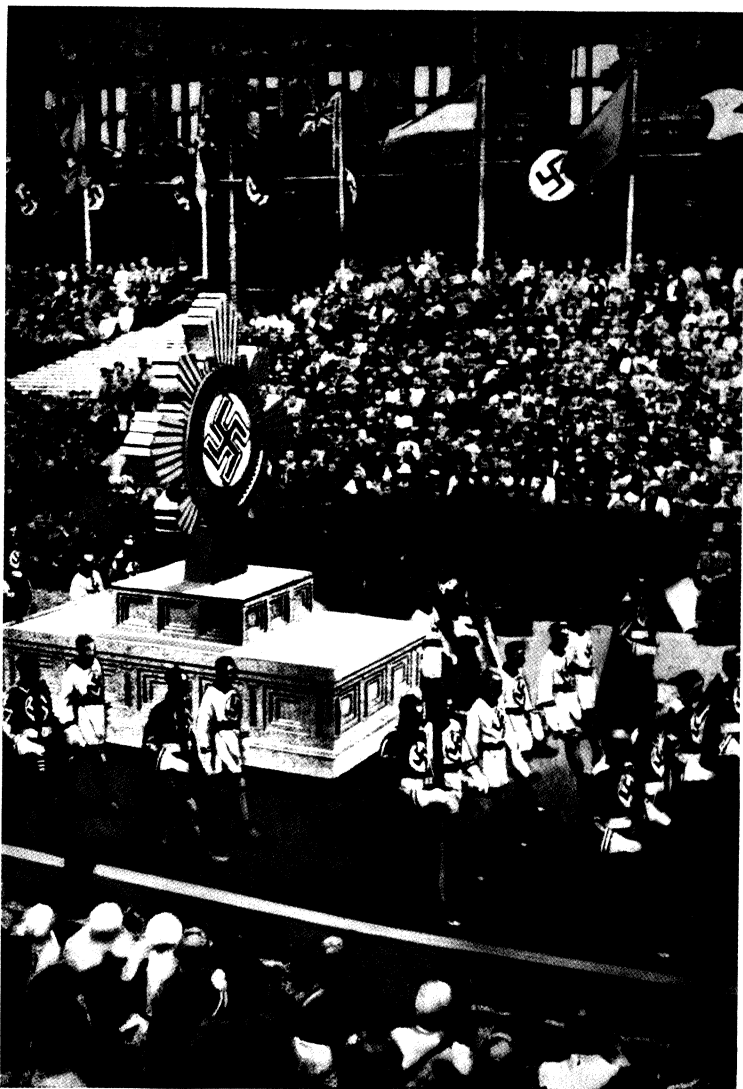
I lay great stress upon this document. The Storm Troops are the civil army of National Socialism; they are, as they are so often told by Herr Hitler and others, pre-eminently the guardians and protagonists of National Socialism; they represent the Party, its outlook, and its policy. These instructions, not written for the public eye, and formally approved by the head of the S.A., are proof beyond controversy of the deliberate paganizing of Germany through the Party. Christianity is throughout referred to as 'a philosophy (*Weltanschauung*) that is alien to us'; the new cult is plainly intended to supplant the old ceremonies of the Christian Sunday; Germany is to be offered, not an adaptation of something old, but 'something new'; all outward signs and symbols of the Christian faith are to be removed; the representatives of the Christian Church are to be kept away. This is a new, official religion. It may be politic in public to represent

National Socialism as Christianity in action and to declare that the State has no intention of setting up a new Church to replace the old, but the real implications of National Socialism for religion become plain in these official and explicit directions. National Socialism is a new and intolerant religion.

The insistence that the new cult shall in no way resemble the familiar usages of the Church may represent a change of policy in the Party. Another and somewhat earlier confidential document, which begins with the words, 'in order effectively to do battle with the Catholic Youth Associations . . .', takes the opposite line.¹ It points out that the Catholic Church has evolved its methods through the experience of two thousand years; it might be well for National Socialism to copy the Church's twofold method of instruction by setting up one type of school for leaders and a quite different type for followers; while the leaders are to be taught from the point of view of 'high politics' and psychology and in a comprehensive manner, the masses should be imbued dogmatically, not theoretically, with National Socialism, and this in the most elementary way. Hence for the masses National Socialism must be expressed in cult form:

What we need is a definite ritual for the opening and closing of our Social Evenings—with thoughts of the Movement's dead, of the martyrs, of the millions of the fellowship of our People who live abroad, together with a regular reading from *Mein Kampf* as the Bible of the Movement and from the Party Programme as our New Testament or Ten Commandments, with the singing of the songs we have recently introduced, the salutation of the Führer or marching in and out with banners, and all this in a regular form but with varying content. The Movement in its meetings even before the seizure of power had already developed the germ of such a ritual by opening with the march with banners, the threefold salutation and the Horst-Wessel song. Would it not be right to proceed further along this way?

¹ It is headed: *Informationsdienst. Erscheint monatlich. Herausgegeben von der Reichsjugendführung, Berlin NW 49, Kronprinzenufer 100. Verantwortlich: Bannführer Werner Kley. Vertraulich! Die Informationen sind nur für den Innendienst bestimmt.*



Le aberrazioni di certe dottrine. parodia del Santissimo Sacramento in un corteo di Amburgo.

THE PARODY OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT ENACTED IN
HAMBURG

From L'Osservatore Romano

he author points to the Church: 'Go into a Catholic Church, and you will find that eighty per cent. of those present are under twenty-five years of age, and of that ten per cent. two-thirds are men, by no means old women!' The Church should die, that would not in any way invalidate its methods. The document concludes thus:

First, Catholic Action is grasped statistically, and if any movement in public, communal or political life is made possible for any of its members; if, second, the denominational divisions are represented as a joke and by no means to be taken seriously; if, third, we cleverly apply the tested methods of the Catholic Church in the selection of leaders and the influencing of the masses; and if, finally, by our systematic teaching we correct the Church soberly and in a strictly historical way with its human weaknesses and strength, its crises, its quarrels about leadership and its battles, and every one understands that we are dealing with a human institution and not with an organization set up by God Himself—then we shall have reached the beginning of the end for the Catholic Church! But we must set forth our ideals and objects clearly and let it be known that they are the mainspring of our action! (On the practical work-out of the above suggestions we could naturally offer further particulars.)

Whether National Socialism decides to copy Church ritual or to develop a wholly different type of cult is of little importance. It is plain that National Socialism is to take the place of the Christian Church. Ministers of State in their public addresses may lay stress upon 'positive Christianity' and rest upon their goodwill to the Churches, but privately within the Party a different language is to be heard.

The situation at the end of the year, then, was serious for the Church, but perhaps more serious for National Socialism. The latter was committed both to the new faith and to the unification of the country in it. It was not only in the relative privacy of the S.A. that the new religion was being set forth. Count von Preysing, the Bishop of Berlin, said on December 5th in his pastoral letter:¹

It is enough to stand at a bookstall on the Underground railway to see how, by means of pictures, caricatures, headlines,

¹ *The Times*, December 6th, 1937.

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY (*cont.*)

1938

THE year 1938 was marked by the annexation of Austria in March, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in September, the Jewish pogroms in November, and by a great intensification of the Church conflict.

As between Church and State the issue was fundamentally clear, but upon the surface it was still confused by contradictions and inconsistencies. Thus, for instance, while it is a declared principle of National Socialism that the spheres of Church and politics are wholly separate, yet Herr Rosenberg's trusted henchman, Herr Brachmann, could publicly explain that the Evangelical Church was not allowed to send a delegation to the Oxford Conference because, except upon the presupposition of National Socialist philosophy, 'there can be to-day no German theology, nor should there be, on grounds of our national honour'.¹ The Church, in fact, must eschew politics and be committed to the Nazi point of view! Similarly the Protestant Church is accused by Herr Brachmann² of 'Lutherism' and by his master of betraying Luther!³ At all costs national disunity caused by denominational divisions must be overcome, but Protestantism is to be indicted because it makes common cause with Rome! These inconsistencies illustrate Baldur von Schirach's observation that the Party had taken 'the decision between soul and cold intellect'.⁴

But behind these paradoxes lies the issue of the nature of Christianity itself. National Socialist leaders pretend indignation at the charge that they are anti-Christian, but there can be no question but that they are anti-Church. 'The German nation', said Herr Rosenberg at the beginning of the year, 'stands above all denominations. . . . we will maintain the dispute in the intellectual sphere with the same

¹ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, March 6th, 1938.

² *Ib.*

³ Alfred Rosenberg, *Protestantische Rompilger; der Verrat an Luther und der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*'.

⁴ *The Times*, January 17th, 1938.

stubbornness as we have maintained the political struggle in the past fourteen years.¹ The inspired Press constantly denounces the Black International. The Minister for Church Affairs beseeches the priests not to be hypocrites and liars and Pharisees but to demonstrate the creed of the Father in their daily life, while he defines religion as 'the laws which I feel within that God has given me'.² While many of the Nazi leaders and many of their followers are in fact even violently anti-Christian, others such as Herr Kerrl may really believe that National Socialism is Christianity itself brought up to date and accommodated to the German soul. This latter is also the view of a considerable but decreasing section of the non-theologically minded populace. They point to the Winter Help Work, to the Strength Through Joy Movement, to the virtual abolition of unemployment, and, averting their eyes from the pogroms and brutalities of the Nazi régime as having no relation to the essence of National Socialism, declare that National Socialism is Christianity in practice, and express impatience with the theological divisions of the parsons and their attitude of passive opposition. Two types of Christian have tended to this view, on the one hand the Erastians, as we should call them, for whom national feeling and Christianity have been so closely connected as to be almost identified, and on the other hand the theological Liberals for whom the translation of Christianity into terms of Race and Blood and Soil was as logical as their previous acceptance of it in terms of Rationalism or the categories of thought popularly current before the Revolution. They have this justification for their view, that National Socialism on its purely political side, as regards the internal organization of the country, might make at least as good a claim to be an expression of Christian principles as the 'Capitalism' of the democratic countries, were it not for the brutalities incidental to its application. But is National Socialism in fact an expression of the Christian spirit or of Racialism as a new religion? In the view of the leaders of National Socialism Racialism is to be identified with Christianity or, if not, so much the worse for Chris-

¹ *The Times*, January 17th, 1938.

² *Ib.*

tianity. It has, therefore, to be maintained that the Churches are not standing for true Christianity. From this aspect the issue is at bottom theological. It should, however, be added that those who at present control Germany are not in the least concerned as thinkers with the question whether the Racialism to which they are committed is, or is not, Christianity; in such speculative questions they are wholly uninterested, and their attitude to the Jews, for instance, would not in any way be modified if it could be brought home to them that it is not Christian. Moreover, if the Party leaders in their public utterances are relatively careful to attack the Church rather than Christianity, the reconstruction of history which privately through the *Schulungsbrief* and other means they are propagating through the country involves the doctrine that the christianizing of pagan Germany was an unfortunate episode in the national history, and their less responsible followers are entirely free publicly to repudiate Christianity for the Third Reich.

Evidence of this is afforded in the remarkable memorandum, prepared for Herr Hitler by the Protestant Army chaplains at the close of 1937, which heralded the Army Purge of February 1938.

The new breach which divides the German nation [say the chaplains]¹ is the breach between National Socialism and Christianity. . . . The State and the Party combat to-day not only the churches. They combat Christianity. This fact is repeatedly denied. It is true, nevertheless. . . . In the training camps of the Party it is repeatedly explained that National Socialism has three enemies: Judaism, Masonry and Christianity. Public acceptance of Christianity is regarded, when a new position is to be filled, as a tie that unfits the candidate for service to the State or the Party. . . . The official recognition of Ludendorff's propaganda and the granting of the first national prize to Alfred Rosenberg have done away with all doubt. Everyone in Germany now knows how things stand. Therefore the breach. The means by which this combat is carried on is the ruthless use of State power. . . . The State itself is an object of the new ideology that combats the Christian faith. The racial ethic, represented through the

¹ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, February 20th, 1938; *Friends of Europe: Monthly Survey of German Publications*, February 1938. I cite the *Friends of Europe* translation.

Party and the Police, armed with all the force of the totalitarian State, hurls itself against materially helpless Christianity. The situation has become wholly intolerable through the fashion in which these State forces are employed. . . . Worse than this ruthless use of material and military force is the spiritual violence suffered under State and military discipline. In Halle, a high functionary of the Storm Troops, speaking before assembled members of the organization, referred to Christ as 'that swine'. School teachers have repeatedly referred to Jesus in their classrooms as 'that Jewish tramp'. Young teachers have sought out their pastors for aid because they were not permitted, in giving religious instruction, to refer to Christ in the Scriptural fashion. . . . The official war propaganda will also suffer because a not unimportant section of the population will believe not a single word after what they have experienced in the Church struggle.

The Army had never been fully co-ordinated (*gleichgeschaltet*) with the new régime; it stood very largely for the old pre-Revolution 'Christian' Germany. The effects of the Purge are not yet wholly visible, but clearly the influence of the Christian element has been reduced; the Army is, so far as possible, to be 'politicized' in the interests of National Socialism, and it remains a question, as *The Times* correspondent indicated,¹ how long under the new conditions the Army chaplains themselves will be able to maintain their position.

On January 27th Herr Rosenberg made a significant speech to the leaders of the Storm Troops. There had been three epochs, he said, in the political life of Germany since 1933, first, the achievement of national freedom, second, the battle for social righteousness, third, the complete establishment of the National Socialist philosophy. The first two epochs were over, the third might last long; its accomplishment was in a high degree the task of the Storm Troops but, more particularly, of the teaching profession.² The national

¹ *The Times*, February 10th, 1938. In June the High Command of the Greater German Reich ordered all members of the former Austrian army immediately to quit any Catholic or Evangelical recreational or religious organizations to which they might belong. In July the *Schulungsbrief* was introduced by order into the army.

² *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, January 1938, p. 251 f.

schools were to lead the pupils into the unqualified acceptance of 'the Confession', that is, the Gospel of National Socialism.¹ 'The German school', says an official statement,² 'is a portion of the National Socialist educational order. In common with other educational agencies of the people, but with its own particular methods, it has the task of forming the National Socialist human being. . . . According to its origin, the National Socialist educational system is not the product of pedagogic planning but of a political struggle and its laws.' Herr Rust declared that he had no intention of issuing any new scheme for religious instruction; 'it was merely decreed that all material should be eliminated from that particular subject which might be deemed injurious to educational unity.'³

The attack on Church schools and Youth organizations was, therefore, ruthlessly pursued. Thus in Bavaria before the Revolution education was almost exclusively in the hands of the Church; by the beginning of 1938 there was hardly a Church school left.⁴ By a decree of the Secret Police dated January 20th, under the anti-Communist Act for the Protection of People and State, the Catholic Youth associations with their various subsidiary or affiliated bodies were dissolved and forbidden. Some three thousand nuns in Bavaria alone have been expelled from the teaching profession. They receive no pension. Some have managed to emigrate after being closely searched and carrying with them only 10 marks. Attempts have been made to retain certificated teachers among them for the teaching professions—but on condition that they would renounce their vows.⁵ Similarly, in the dioceses of Aix and Cologne and in the Police District of Weimar the Catholic Youth societies were suppressed and banned.⁶ By February Würzburg was wholly bereft of

¹ Cf. the instructions issued in January by the Bavarian Ministry of Education cited *ib.*, p. 254.

² *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 12th, 1938.

³ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, February 12th, 1938.

⁴ The pastoral of the Bavarian Bishops on Education was published in the *Osservatore Romano*, September 10th, 1938: *v.* also *Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz*, November 2nd, 1938; *Evangelische Unterweisung*, 1938, Heft 2, p. 53; *The Times*, January 17th, 1938; *v. infra*, p. 204, n. 4.

⁵ *Deutsche Mitteilungen*, June 9th, 1938.

⁶ *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, March 1938, p. 253.

Church schools;¹ so too all the Church schools had been displaced by national schools in Koblenz and Trier,² and a similar fate was promised the Church schools in Berlin.³ By the end of the year there were no Church schools left in Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Saxony, Thuringia, Oldenburg, the Saar, large parts of Prussia, and in Austria.⁴ The policy of National Socialism to unify the national education is not intrinsically unreasonable, but there can be no doubt that the method pursued was a gross breach of Article XXXI of the Concordat, that there was no excuse for the appropriation of funds and the seizure of missals and religious pictures when associations were dissolved.⁵ That the change was made as a direct attack upon the Church was made plain by Herr Rosenberg on November 5th, when he boasted that 'the curriculum of all categories in our schools has already been so far reformed in an anti-Christian and anti-Jewish spirit that the generation which is growing up will be protected from the black swindle'.⁶

Great surprise, therefore, was felt in Church circles when early in February Herr Himmler issued an order to the effect that it was not considered desirable that members of the Secret Police should resign their membership in the Church; about the same time Herr Hess instructed the Party that it was not to extend its patronage to the so-called 'German Christians'; it was, further, officially declared that separate Catholic schools must be continued.⁷ The sequel showed plainly that this momentary lifting of the oppression was due to tactical considerations, not to a change of heart or policy. Herr Hitler was about to embark upon the anxious

¹ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, February 27th, 1938.

² *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, January 1938, p. 64.

³ *Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 563 f.

⁴ *Osservatore Romano*, January 22nd, 1939; October 27th, 1938. I use the term 'Church schools' in this context to include the *Bekenntnisschulen* as well as the private schools of the Church. Strictly, the *Bekenntnisschulen* are State schools (*v. supra*, pp. 145 ff.), but they are Church schools in the sense that the education, especially the religious education, given in them is in accordance with Church requirements and often given by nuns. By the end of the year these schools had ceased to be 'Church schools' in this sense and had become national schools, that is, 'Confessional schools' of National Socialism.

⁵ *The Times*, February 8th, 1938.

⁶ *v. infra*, p. 224.

⁷ *The Times*, February 19th, 1938.

adventure of the annexation of Austria, and the unification of national feeling was of great importance to him.

In the course of a speech in 1934 the Austrian Cardinal Innitzer had said:

In our time there has appeared a particular variety of this Materialism, the Materialism of Blood and Race, a new heresy that disseminates itself as a new heathenism. I need not further indicate the quarter from which this Materialism is preached. Here we see a crass repudiation of God who is represented not as a real Existence but only as an object of thought. This new heathenism denies the revelation of a supernatural Being. If there is no such Being, naturally It cannot reveal Itself. The Law of God is denied; this new heathenism recognizes only the validity of the law of Blood and Race.¹

Similarly the Bishop of Linz had declared that National Socialism was a much greater danger than Judaism or Bolshevism.² As late as February 26th, 1938, Cardinal Innitzer publicly applauded 'the really liberating words of Dr. Schuschnigg' and expressed the wish that a Mass should be celebrated every month 'for the peace and liberty of our Austrian Fatherland'.³ The firm antipathy of the Austrian Church to National Socialism was notorious, and for some months before the annexation priests from Germany had been forbidden by the Nazis to enter Austria. When, therefore, Cardinal Innitzer welcomed the advent of Herr Hitler with an enthusiasm that was apparently unqualified the Church in Germany was deeply puzzled and perturbed. What underlay this tergiversation is still obscure, but the facts are reasonably plain. On the evening of March 12th, the day when the German troops marched into Austria, Cardinal Innitzer appealed to his Church to thank God for the bloodless revolution and to pray for a happy future for Austria.⁴ On March 15th he visited Herr Hitler and exchanged friendly assurances with him. On March 18th the Austrian bishops issued jointly a solemn declaration⁵ in which they highly praised the activity of the National

¹ *Reichspost*, October 22nd, 1934.

² *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, September 1937, p. 836.

³ *Kulturkampf*, April 15th, 1938.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 28th, 1938; *Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 306 f.

Socialist Movement in social and economic respects and expressed the hope that at the coming plebiscite all Catholics would signify their assent to the revolution. Two letters which Cardinal Innitzer addressed to District-Leader Bürckel ended with the greeting 'Heil Hitler!'¹ It is true that on March 25th Cardinal Innitzer wrote to the bishops and clergy that 'in order to avoid any misunderstanding of the contents of the declaration which is to be read out on Sunday, it must be emphasized that this takes place under the full assurance that the rights of God and the Church will be maintained',² but this message was not published, and the declaration of the Austrian bishops was taken and used by the Nazi Party as an expression of unqualified submission. 'National Socialism stretches out its hand to him who declares himself for Germany without "if" or "but"', said Herr Rosenberg on April 4th.³ Later in the year Cardinal Innitzer publicly explained that 'the well-known declarations of the bishops of Austria on March 18th were made with the best intentions in order to come to a peaceful understanding with the present ruling authorities of the country'.⁴ That we can well understand, but it is less comprehensible how the Cardinal could have written to Herr Bürckel: 'I would like to express quite openly my deepest aspiration in these historical days, that with the bishops' declaration we have arrived at a turning-point in the religious and cultural life of our united people which will usher in a period of deep reconciliation and pacification between Church, State and Party.'

On April 1st the *Osservatore Romano* published an official statement to the effect that the bishops' declaration had been issued without previous consultation with the Vatican. That evening the Vatican wireless station broadcast in German a lecture by a Jesuit Father which in scarcely veiled terms criticized the Austrian manifesto:⁵

It is not the function of the Church, in her capacity as an authoritative teacher, to issue declarations which estimate

¹ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, April 17th, 1938; *Kulturkampf*, April 15th, 1938.

² *Osservatore Romano*, March 30th, 1938.

³ *Der Deutsche in Polen*, April 17th, 1938. ⁴ *The Times*, October 24th, 1938.

⁵ *Kulturkampf*, April 15th, 1938.

and adjudge the purely economic, social and political aspects of a régime. And the faithful are not obliged by conscience to agree with such judgement, nor to adjust to it the exercise of their political rights. This false political Catholicism is all the more objectionable when the pastors join with those who are for the time being the victors, while simple believers of all classes are suffering because they courageously stand for the principles of the divine order, and particularly for natural human rights. All upright people—far beyond the limits of the Church—will see in such an attitude only disloyalty and ignominy.

On April 4th the *Osservatore Romano* announced that this broadcast lecture was wholly unofficial, but the assertion that the Vatican knew nothing of the broadcast is on the face of it absurd.¹

On April 5th and 6th Cardinal Innitzer was in Rome, where he had interviews with the Pope and with Cardinal Pacelli. Immediately after his departure the *Osservatore Romano* published the following statement signed by Cardinal Innitzer in the name of the whole Austrian episcopate:²

1. The solemn declaration of the Austrian bishops of March 18th was obviously not intended to express approval of anything which is incompatible with the laws of God and with the freedom and rights of the Catholic Church. Nor should State and Party understand this declaration as binding in conscience upon the faithful, and thus make use of it in propaganda.

2. For the future, the Austrian bishops demand the following: (a) No alteration in any matter covered by the Austrian Concordat without previous discussion with the Holy See; (b) that the control of the schools and educational system, the guidance of youth, the natural rights of parents and the religious and moral training of the Catholic Youth, be guaranteed in accordance with the principles of Catholic belief; also, the prevention of propaganda inimical to religion and the Church, and the right of Catholics to declare, defend and exemplify Catholic faith and Christian principles in relation to all aspects of human life by all means which modern culture affords.

This statement, the broadcast address, and the official Papal repudiation of responsibility for the bishops' original

¹ Reuter apparently made this assertion on the authority of a (non-existent) 'Vatican Press Service': v. *Der Deutsche in Polen*, April 17th, 1938.

² *Kulturkampf*, April 15th, 1938.

declaration were kept from the German Press. This bold assertion of rights and claims may appear laughable in the light of the imminent sequel, but the whole incident illustrates the confusion and consternation of the Austrian Church at the annexation.

The attempts of the Church in Austria to accommodate itself to the sudden turn of events is illustrated by an interesting article of Dr. Zechmeister which appeared in the Salzburg *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*.¹ There must be a great reconstruction of Austrian Catholicism, wrote the author. In future the Church would have to stand by itself without the State's support. A condition of 'greater truthfulness' would be the result of a recognition by Christians that they are a minority, and that they have to co-operate with other sections of the people in a common secular task. Further, 'the Christian believes in a coming "Christian" secularism' (*Profanität*). The Church must, in future, take cognizance of a secular faith which fashions the State and give whole-hearted consent to its appearance. 'Medieval thought is at an end'; the Church is no more to dominate the State; clerical influence will be gone; the Church must arise from its 'ghetto-mindedness' (*Ghettohaftigkeit*); there must be no more 'Josephinism'; the Church must be built up from below; the laity must play their proper part and 'realize the Kingdom of God in the secular order'.

That the Church should have to stand by itself without State support, that the laity should realize afresh their responsibilities and privileges, that the independence of the State in its own sphere should be fully acknowledged might well point to spiritual renewal in the Church. The recognition and acceptance of a true 'secularism', if it be, as the author intends, a 'Christian' secularism, is good Thomistic doctrine. But he sets the problem rather than illuminates it in his admission that the concepts of People, Blood, and Soil are dominant in the sphere of secular thought. The Church, however, was to have little time for a speculative or practical reconciliation with National Socialism. Even in March there were complaints of indignities inflicted on the clergy,²

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 391 f.

² *The Times*, March 24th, 1938.

but it was not till the plebiscite was over in April that the Government clearly showed its hand.

A veil still shrouds the inner struggles and perturbations of the Church in Austria during the first months of the annexation. The Protestant Church in Austria had for the most part welcomed Herr Hitler with enthusiasm. There were also priests and laity of the Roman obedience who heartily approved of Cardinal Innitzer's first proclamation. There soon appeared a somewhat mysterious organization known as the 'Fellowship of Work for Religious Peace' (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für den religiösen Frieden*). This society announced that it was not a subsidiary of the National Socialist Party:

In no way will it be financially supported by the Church, by the Government or by the Party. The basis of its activity will be the conviction that no contradictions exist between the Church and the new State, between the Catholic creed and the beliefs of National Socialism, which arise out of the intrinsic nature of the Church, State, Catholic creed or National Socialism. Catholic priests and laymen who are members of the society take their stand on the basis of Catholic teaching.¹

The policy of the society was further defined in a later leaflet:²

The primary prerequisite for religious peace is the permanent realization by religious persons and organizations of our common membership in the people, in the Führer and the new German Reich, from which we shall never again separate. In all your words and deeds you should bring this realization to the fore. Wear openly the swastika. Have the people pray for our Germany and the Führer, and in your sermons make mention of his decisive deeds on behalf of the glory of God and religion, such as the suppression of Bolshevism and of Freemasonry, and his struggle on behalf of world peace. Demonstrate to your parishioners his outstanding self-abnegation, and how in all his deeds he feels himself to be the instrument of the Almighty. Seek to have honest connexions with your local Party organization and in this spirit endeavour to solve any difficulties which may arise.

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 480. *Osservatore Romano*, July 15th, 1938.

² *Kulturkampf*, July 26th, 1938.

This fellowship, then, would appear to be the Catholic counterpart of the Evangelical 'German Christians'.

In April the official paper of the diocese of Vienna published an apparently innocuous notification of instructions to pastors.¹ The new age, it was said, would require new methods; difficulties were foreseen; in particular, priests must be careful to eschew political action of any kind. On May 23rd the same paper published a supplementary notice to the effect that it was forbidden to the priesthood to undertake any political activity, not only in connexion with their ministry, but also apart from it.

A good understanding between the Church and State authorities, with a clear definition of their respective spheres, will be best attained if the entire clergy, in strict obedience to their bishops, follow this instruction; but this will not be the case if certain priests on their own responsibility carry on Church politics, thus disturbing the unity and discipline of the clergy.

The abstention of the clergy from political activities has always been a demand of the Nazi Government. On May 27th, accordingly, the *Reichspost* prominently displayed this unequivocal notice. But on the next day there appeared an editorial note to the effect that 'these instructions were reprinted without the knowledge of the responsible leader of our newspaper. We shall return to a consideration of the questions treated in the instructions as soon as a clear statement is to hand from the responsible authorities.' On June 5th there appeared a long statement from the Fellowship of Work for Religious Peace (apparently the 'responsible authority'), which said that 'in an interview with his Eminence the Cardinal on June 2nd it appeared that the notice in the Viennese Diocesan Gazette of May 23rd cannot be construed as a prohibition of membership in, and active work for, the Fellowship of Work for Religious Peace'. This curious incident illustrates both the inner difficulties of the Church at this time and the conviction of the Nazis that wholehearted co-operation of the clergy with the National Socialist régime may not be deemed a transgression of the rule that the clergy may take no part in politics.

¹ *Germania*, May 1st, 1938.

District-Leader Bürckel asserted that the Church question would find in Austria a solution which would then be applied to the whole of Germany.¹ This somewhat obscure statement was followed by an assurance that the Government had no idea of instituting a single national Church in Austria; it was a 'childish supposition' that the National Socialist State desired to overthrow the denominations and set up a united Church (*Einheitskirche*).²

Later in the month the *National-Zeitung* of Essen said that the Fellowship of Work for Religious Peace was to be welcomed as delivering Austria from clericalism; the Catholic clergy were in future to be 'synchronized' with National Socialism.³ A few days later⁴ the archiepiscopate in Vienna disclaimed any responsibility for these 'synchronizing' proposals. But where exactly was Cardinal Innitzer standing in these days? The extreme confusion of the inner Church situation was thus summed up by *The Times* correspondent in Vienna:⁵

The fight over the respective jurisdictions of State and Church has divided the Roman Catholic Church in Austria into three antagonistic groups. The first is the 'Old Guard', whose standpoint continues to be that whoever opposes the Pope must be wrong. At the other extreme are the German Nationalists, who pay their first allegiance to Herr Hitler, and, if left no choice, may possibly plan to leave the Church. The third group still believe that Cardinal Innitzer, sometimes called the 'Heil-Hitler Bishop', will be able to obtain the Vatican's approval for a compromise, and they are doing their best to assist in this direction. . . . According to trustworthy information Cardinal Innitzer has been more or less bound to silence, and has been given instructions to make no more overtures to the Nazis in the matter of the Church's status in Austria without specific approval of all details by the Vatican. The prospect of a compromise between the Vatican and Herr Hitler, for which Cardinal Innitzer has worked for the past five years, has now diminished almost to vanishing point. According to usually well-informed Catholic circles Cardinal Innitzer is very dissatisfied with the

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, July 3rd, 1938.

² District-Leader Bürckel's representative, Herr Pischtiak, in the *Reichspost*, July 10th, 1938.

³ *Osservatore Romano*, July 25th, 1938.

⁴ *Ib.*, July 29th, 1938.

⁵ In his dispatch dated August 8th, 1938.

Pope's reaction to his compromise efforts and deeply resentful of the Pope's vetoes and amendments, which have virtually nullified those efforts.

That there was in fact an element in the Church which regarded allegiance to Herr Hitler as primary would seem indicated by the fact that in the first six weeks after the annexation 46,000 Catholics left the Church, most declaring themselves Protestants, some attaching themselves to the 'Old Catholics', and twenty-six, very curiously, to Judaism.¹ That Cardinal Innitzer has striven by any means to achieve harmonious co-operation to the new régime would seem certain, but the greater intransigence of the Pope would seem to have been justified, if not necessitated, by the consistent policy of the Nazis towards the Church in Austria. On September 30th the Viennese Diocesan Gazette published the official pronouncement of the Austrian bishops asserting 'an express and formal prohibition of membership' in the Fellowship of Work for Religious Peace 'for all secular priests and members of religious orders'.

Immediately after the annexation a new Chief of Police was appointed for Austria. This was none other than Dr. Steinhäsl, who had previously been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for complicity in the murder of Dollfuss.² The District-Leader was Herr Bürckel, whose religious attitude had been indicated by a speech he made in December of 1937.³

Right and sacred [he had said] is in the end only what serves the nation and its preservation. Whoever for religious motives turns against his nation or against the laws necessary for its preservation is not religiously minded, even if he should constantly pretend to be such. On the other side, he who prays to the Almighty to support our work cannot have a bad religion.

On the night after the plebiscite he wrote to Herr Hitler:

This people was called to show anew to the world that the Blood of a people is a stronger factor in its destiny than any powers and forces outside its frontiers can ever hope to be; and where these two forces come into conflict the victory is to the divine

¹ *Zeit im Querschnitt*, August 1st, 1938.

² *The Times*, March 15th, 1938.

³ *Nationalsozialistische Zeitung Rheinfront*, December 4th, 1937.

force, the law of the Creator. . . . You, my Führer, have gone forth to prepare the way of the Lord God into the German hearts.¹

The Church struggle in Austria has not followed a different course from that in the rest of Germany, but the pace has been much faster. In March the arrest of priests had begun, the Bishop of Salzburg had been temporarily locked in a prison cell 'to protect him from the Communists', and the Catholic Press had been virtually suppressed.² In May all Catholic organizations apart from those of charity, those connected with Church music and purely religious associations of the clergy were suppressed in the diocese of Linz;³ National Socialist sanitary and social organizations were to replace the work of the Catholic sisters;⁴ a number of Catholic schools had been suppressed and two schools for 'Racial Education' had been set up.⁵ In June it was announced that national schools were to replace Church schools; the only 'ideology' to be taught was 'the national law of our people, the standards and action of the life of the people determined by Blood and Soil. Relations with the supernatural life are a private affair of individuals'; at the same time it was announced that no Church calendars might be issued until the manuscript has been considered and approved by the Party in Berlin.⁶ The famous monastery of St. Lamprecht was confiscated, and the Press was instructed which Church notices it might publish.⁷

The *Deutsche Presse* of Prague thus described in July the religious situation in Austria:⁸ Herr Bürckel had abolished a number of holy days recognized by the State; the elementary schools of the Church had been closed or turned into national schools; the secondary schools had either been turned into State schools or boycotted; the funds of the University of Salzburg, which was to have crowned the educational edi-

¹ In his *Vollzugsmeldung*.

² *The Times*, March 24th, 1938. Cf. *Osservatore Romano*, May 19th and 21st, 1938.

³ *Osservatore Romano*, May 8th, 1938. In December 24 priests from this diocese were arrested (*The Times*, December 13th, 1938).

⁴ *Ib.*, May 19th, 1938.

⁵ *Ib.*, May 25th, 1938.

⁶ *Ib.*, June 20th/21st, 1938.

⁷ *Ib.*, June 1st, 1938.

⁸ Quoted in *Osservatore Romano*, July 21st, 1938.

lice in Austria, had been sequestered. Between 1921 and 1923 the Socialists had eliminated from educational libraries all the books which did not accord with the ideas of Marxism, but the National Socialists had proceeded to a second 'purge' in the interests of their philosophy and had excised many more books than the Marxists. In many cases scholars were being prevented from fulfilling their religious duties because the Party demanded their attendance at the prescribed hours; on the other side, the Nazi teachers were at pains to inculcate in them the tenets of Herr Alfred Rosenberg. The Association of Catholic Teachers, with a membership of some 10,000 had been suppressed, and many of the teachers had been the victims of persecution. In particular, Austrian Catholics were perturbed by the new marriage law; this was contrary to Canon Law; the insistence upon civil marriage was justified by no principle of Nation or Race, and, to make matters worse, this legislation, so reminiscent of the ways of atheist Marxism, had been introduced under the colour of 'Positive Christianity'. Furthermore, all Catholic organizations with the exception of the purely charitable institutions, Caritas and its dependent fraternities, had been dissolved. All the papers of the excellent Catholic Press had been either transformed or suppressed; in their place had come the wide distribution of anti-religious journals. This description from Prague was the more impressive because it came from a paper written in German and sympathetic to the aspirations and ideas of the Sudeten Germans. It is not too much to say that within three months of the annexation of Austria the whole organization of the Church, apart from purely pastoral or liturgical functions, was in ruins.

At the beginning of August the theological faculty at Innsbruck was suppressed.¹ There had been some 1,050 private schools in Austria;² the elimination of these began early in August, kindergartens were taken out of the hands of the nuns and entrusted to lay supervisors, and it was announced that, although private schools might open in September, they might take no new pupils without special

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, August 8th, 1938.

² *Deutsch-Evangelische Korrespondenz*, April 13th, 1938.

permission; thus the private parochial schools would die a natural death even if no new measures should be enacted against them; 'besides this', shrewdly comments *The Times* correspondent, 'it is believed that students attending parochial schools will be placed at some disadvantage when examined in such subjects as Nazi ideology'. At the same time the nuns were beginning to be displaced by Nazi nurses in the hospitals.¹ On August 24th *The Times* announced: 'A sign appeared in the window of the *Volksbund der Katholiken Österreichs* which read: "Because of liquidation this space to let".' The *Volksbund* had been the largest Catholic organization in Austria; its newspapers had been suppressed in June. On August 29th the murderers of Dollfuss were the object of a public eulogy.²

On September 1st the *Völkischer Beobachter* announced the final closing of all convent schools in Austria. This 'reform' was to become effective as from September 19th when the school year opened. In the same month part of the famous Jesuit institution *Stella Matutina* was taken over by the Government to be used for a Financial School;³ the Cistercians were driven out of their foundation in Zwettl, and the Capuchin hostel in Bregenz was commandeered by the Hitler Youth.⁴ The pastoral letter of the Austrian bishops indicates the disappointment and consternation of the Church;⁵ 'the Austrian bishops', they claimed, 'have done their very best to reach an agreement, but recent events force the bishops to speak a frank word to the faithful. The Catholic people in Austria have been severely affected by many measures. Many Catholics have lost their employment because of their faith. Religious consolation cannot be given to the patients in the hospitals nor to the imprisoned.' Despite the Marriage Law, they continue,

. . . the Church will recognize as married only such people as have been married by the Church. The bishops declare that the

¹ *The Times*, August 9th, 1938.

² *Ib.*, August 30th, 1938.

³ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, September 13th, 1938.

⁴ *Church Times*, September 30th, 1938. The Ruppertinum in Salzburg was suppressed in October, v. *Osservatore Romano*, October 20th, 1938.

⁵ *Osservatore Romano*, September 26th, 1938; *Birmingham Post*, September 21st, 1938.

Church will refuse Catholic burial to any who has only registered his marriage with the secular authorities. . . . Recent decrees of the State have suppressed the Catholic schools and deprived young men in Austria from studying to enter the Church. The bishops have protested against these measures without success. The Church must now appeal to the parents. Take care that Catholic children are not corrupted by the faithless destruction of the present time.

The challenge of the Pastoral Letter was quickly taken up by the Government. On October 7th *The Times* correspondent reported:

The Nazis provoked a riot in Vienna to-night after a Service in the cathedral. A congregation of men, women and children estimated at 10,000 came out of the Cathedral where they had heard an address by Cardinal Innitzer, and assembled on the Cathedral square singing hymns and shouting, 'Our faith! Our God! Christus, Heil!' and 'Heil, Innitzer, our Bishop!' Shortly afterwards a group of Nazis in uniform appeared, and, summoning reinforcements, fell upon the Catholics, shouting 'Sieg Heil, Sieg Hitler!' and 'Our faith is Germany!' Many of the Catholics who resisted were seized and taken away. After the crowd had dispersed, the Nazis remained on the square shouting, 'We want to see the Bishop' and 'Send Innitzer to Dachau'. The assaulted Catholics included priests and women.

The next morning the *Völkischer Beobachter* violently attacked Cardinal Innitzer as a 'political epileptic'. In the evening the Cardinal's palace was sacked and partly burned by a mob which consisted largely of Nazis in uniform; one elderly priest was thrown through a window and later died of his injuries.¹ On the next day, Sunday, there were further riots, and in the evening the Cathedral was locked up.² There is reason to think that Herr Hitler was displeased with this rioting in Vienna,³ but when Herr Bürckel, who had been absent, returned to the city, he delivered a tirade against the Cardinal and the Church; this was followed by a demonstration in which 100,000 Nazis (so it is alleged in

¹ An eyewitness's account of the outrage appeared in *The Times* of October 9th, 1938.

² *Ib.*, October 11th, 1938.

³ *Ib.*, October 13th, 1938.

The Times) marched past the Cardinal's palace carrying banners with defamatory inscriptions.¹

In October the Minister of the Interior in Vienna decreed:

Having regard to various facts of recent times and in view of the necessity of an education informed with the spirit of National Socialism I order the closing of all schools, private, confessional, elementary, middle, pedagogic, commercial, industrial, of domestic economy and instruction in the liberal professions. This order to take immediate effect. The same order covers all confessional boarding schools of whatever denomination.²

Earlier in the month the famous *Reichspost* had come to an end,³ and the *Petrinum* in Linz for the training of the priesthood had been closed.⁴ All this but seven months after Cardinal Innitzer had greeted the *Gauleiter* with 'Heil Hitler!'

The Times of June 22nd quoted Dr. Goebbels as saying, 'We saw in Austria that one race cannot be separated into two countries, and we shall soon see it somewhere else.' In September his words were fulfilled in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. But, although the affairs of that unhappy country have been much before the public eye, there is at present little to report of the repercussions of their annexation upon the Sudeten country. It would seem that the bitter dissension between Czechs and Germans in Czechoslovakia had not been transcended in the Church.

Czech Catholicism [wrote a Sudeten German in May]⁵ has lost any right of judgement concerning us. How often have we tried to establish a cultural Catholic common front transcending national barriers! They have all been wrecked on the Chauvinist opposition of the most intransigent of all the political groups of the Czech people, the *Lidova strana* with Monsignor Stramek and his various subsidiary publications. When we appealed for an understanding in the name of Christianity, we were met in the name of Nationalism with a No.

There were unseemly incidents, as when a Czech bishop refused to admit Sudeten German students to his seminar.⁶

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, October 20th; *The Times*, October 14th, 1938. A diary of events from October 7th to 13th will be found in *Kulturkampf*, October 27th, 1938. v. also *Osservatore Romano*, October 15th, 19th, and 21st, 1938.

² *Osservatore Romano*, October 27th, 1938.

³ *Ib.*, October 7th, 1938.

⁴ *Ib.*, Oct. 7th, 1938.

⁵ *Egerland- und Salzburger Zeitung*, May 14th, 1938.

⁶ *Schwäbischer Merkur*, May 28th, 1938.

But this did not represent the attitude of all Czech Catholics, and even the Sudeten Germans looked back with reverence to the name of Archbishop Kordac; but it would seem that the Cardinal Bishop of Prague, Dr. Kaspar, was supposed by the Sudeten Germans to have sent to the Vatican a list of the theological students who belonged to the Sudeten German Party with a view to disciplinary action.¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that clerical conferences in the Sudeten land should warmly support Herr Henlein's movement.² Whether happier relations between Church and State will be found in the Sudetenland than have yet been achieved in Austria or the rest of Germany is a matter for speculation.³

The Church in Germany as a whole welcomed the accession of Austria to the Reich, though many hated Herr Hitler's bullying methods and the treatment of Dr. Schuschnigg. Herr Hitler took the occasion of his triumph to hold an 'Election' at which Germans were required to express their approval of what had been done and their enthusiastic support of the régime. A certain number of Catholics, though approving in general of the annexation, declined to vote for the régime. Outstanding amongst these was Bishop Sproll of Rottenburg. He did not vote because, as he said, 'I should have had to give my vote for, and express my confidence in, men whose fundamentally hostile attitude to the Catholic Church and against all Christianity has become more and more clearly revealed from year to year'.⁴ He did not vote, as Reichsstatthalter Murz preferred to say, because 'he refused to recognize that Divine Providence visibly elected Adolf Hitler'; he did not recognize with gratitude the redemption of the people, but kept eternally complaining of persecution and martyrdom.⁵ So bitterly did the authorities resent the Bishop's refusal to vote that he thought

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 550.

² *Sonntagsbrief*, September 11th, 1938.

³ The *Osservatore Romano* of December 3rd, 1938, published an account of the Catholic institutions in the Sudetenland. It would seem that the Catholic Press had been abolished, but almost nothing is at present to be reported of the relations of Church and State in the Sudetenland.

⁴ The whole story is revealed in the Bishop's Pastoral Letter, read on July 31st, and in the detailed account sent by the Chancellor of the diocese to Herr Kerrl (v. *Osservatore Romano*, August 26th, 27th, 28th, 1938; *Kulturkampf*, September 3rd, 1938).

⁵ *Osservatore Romano*, May 13th, 1938.

it advisable to be absent from his diocese for three months. He returned on July 15th. On the following evening a crowd, largely recruited from Tübingen, Reutlingen, and other towns, broke into the palace and did very considerable damage. Later the Secret Police arrived and saw what had been done. Two evenings later there was a larger demonstration; the bishop was denounced as 'rogue' and 'traitor'—'stand him up against a wall!', 'he ought to be hanged!'—but no damage was done. On the afternoon of July 23rd it became known that groups of National Socialists were on their way to Rottenburg, and that instructions had been issued with regard to trains, motor-cars, and coaches. Free tickets were given to demonstrators; the demonstration was obviously organized by the Party itself. Dr. Gröber, the Archbishop of Freiburg, who happened to be staying with the Bishop of Rottenburg, appealed for protection to the provincial government, the prosecuting attorney's office in Tübingen, and the Secret Police in Stuttgart. The organized crowd, estimated at about 3,000, broke into the palace, ransacked the Bishop's study, flinging papers and documents out of the window, and started a fire which was happily extinguished.

While all this was taking place [the Chancellor's report continues] the Archbishop, the Bishop, the Diocesan Chancellor and several members of the Cathedral Chapter were kneeling in prayer before the altar of the palace oratory. . . . The rioters even rushed in here, however, and insulted the Archbishop at his prayers by tugging at his clothing and calling him 'traitor'. . . . During a quarter of an hour about twenty of the rioters stayed in the oratory, some of them smoking and with their hats on their heads. They only left when the State Police entered.

The *Manchester Guardian* concludes its account of the incident by commenting that 'it does not seem that any arrests were made'.¹ Shortly afterwards Bishop Sproll under the law for the Defence of People and State of February 28th, 1933, was banished from his diocese by the Nazis as being 'a permanent menace to the public peace'.²

Though the German Church welcomed the coming of

¹ August 18th, 1938.

² *Osservatore Romano*, September 8th, 1938.

Austria into the Reich, the somewhat equivocal attitude of Cardinal Innitzer and his clergy seems to have prevented an invitation to the Austrian episcopate to participate in the annual German Bishops' Conference at Fulda. In August the German Pastoral was issued.¹ It was a document of special weight. The attacks on the Church, say the bishops, have been growing not merely more embittered but also more obvious in their purpose; their aim is 'the destruction of the Catholic Church amongst our People, indeed, the elimination of Christianity itself and the introduction of a faith that has nothing whatever to do with the true faith in God and the Christian belief in a world to come'. Persons of authority in the Party had given the widest publicity to the principle that 'their philosophic goal lay in the destruction of German Catholicism'. It was true that Public Worship might still be held in the Churches without hindrance, but, on the other side, every effort was made to alienate young people from the Church, to convict loyal Churchmen of being a divisive element in the nation, and to cause the disappearance of anything connected with the Church from public life. The Church was to take to the catacombs (*Katakombenschicksal*) as the beginning of the end. The Press had been practically closed to the Church; efforts were made to detach members from the Church; those who remained faithful were often penalized. 'We German bishops have frequently, plainly and forthrightly identified ourselves with (*haben uns bekannt zum*) the People and the Fatherland in its new form and have conscientiously fulfilled our duties as citizens.' But the progress of the philosophic (*weltanschaulich*) movement had made it ever clearer that leading members of the Party had no wish for an understanding with the Church. Not merely the Church but Christianity had been attacked as such. On the basis of Race and Blood it was maintained that the Person and Life of Jesus Christ do not fit the genius of the German man, that such central Christian doctrines as Original Sin, Redemption, Reward and Punishment hereafter are Oriental superstitions, and that Christian ethical principles and requirements are obso-

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, September 2nd, 1938.

lete. This attitude of many in the Party to the Church, the bishops pointed out, was dividing the nation and incompatible with the 'fellowship of the People' (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

'The attempt is made', continue the bishops, 'to suppress the Christian God and set in His place a "German God". But what ultimately does a German God mean? Is this God somehow different from the God of other peoples? If so, there are so many gods as there are races and peoples; that means ultimately that there is no God.' A god who is at most an expression of the racial soul is 'neither Lord nor Law-giver, neither Origin nor End, neither Providence nor Helper, neither a rewarding nor a punishing Might. He is the puppet of a temporary phase of thought (*Spielball einer Zeitmeinung*), destined inevitably sooner or later to give place to godlessness'.¹ It was constantly being alleged that Catholics were no true patriots; 'we repeat again, it is not *against* People and State that we are fighting but *for* the State and the People and *against* those whom with the courage that becomes apostles we must stigmatize as enemies of our People'.

That Herr Rosenberg, Dr. Goebbels, Herr Himmler, and other leaders of the Party should be by implication and publicly called 'enemies of the People' was a challenge the like of which had not been heard in Germany for years. But, once again, were the bishops strictly justified in asserting that the Nazi policy was to extirpate Christianity itself?

If a priest was arrested [said Field-Marshal Göring in March]² this did not happen because he followed his priestly calling but

¹ This is, of course, a theological or philosophical question; but the denial of One God with *Naturrecht* as His law has most important political, social, legal, and ethical consequences. Thus Reichsleiter Buch, writing in *Deutsche Justiz* (October 21st, 1938), points out that the German differs from all others of the European race (and much more from other races) in his conceptions of honour and of right and wrong. German piety springs out of the depths of the German soul. In particular, ideas of honour correspond with differences of Blood. The dominant demand of the German soul is the solidarity of the People; hence an unmarried mother should not be criticized provided she have borne strong children for the Race. 'The Jew is not a human being', and the condemnation of adultery is Pharisaic. At the head of the Germans the Führer has set the fellowship of the Party; it is the duty of the Party to be an example to the Germans; it is likewise the duty of the Party to determine what corresponds with German Honour.

² March 26th in Vienna (*Junge Kirche*, 1938, p. 340).

because he had become all too worldly. . . . It is not the Catholic Church that we have forbidden in Germany, it is the Centre Party and the politicizing clergy that we have displaced. . . . Had we been against religion, against the Church, against faith, would the blessing of the Almighty have rested, as it has, upon our Movement? We have brought the whole force of our religious feeling to bear upon the sustaining of the fearful battle. Do you think this could have happened without our deepest faith in God the Almighty? We destroy neither faith nor religion; on the contrary, it is we who have restored faith to the People! . . . I say once again, the Movement will afford the Church all the protection it may claim, but the Church must not be mixed up in things which do not concern it nor belong to it; about that there can be no compromise.¹

Is the issue ultimately political, as Field-Marshal Göring declares, or religious, as the bishops say?

The effective *credo* of National Socialism was expressed in the words of Reichsleiter Ley, which were blazoned in enormous letters in the official (and private) *Schulungsbrief*:²

Adolf Hitler, to thee alone we are bound. In this hour we would renew our solemn vow; we believe in this world on Adolf Hitler alone. We believe that National Socialism is the sole faith to make our People blessed. We believe that there is a Lord God in heaven, who has made us, who leads us, who guides us, and who visibly blesses us. And we believe that this Lord God has sent us Adolf Hitler, that Germany should be established for all eternity.

‘For this Germany’, said Herr Rudolf Hess, ‘we serve the Führer and obey him blindly, because we know that he is the embodiment of this Germany.’³ The claim of Field-Marshal Göring may not be insincere, but it must be read in the light of these typical and authoritative confessions. The Church will be accepted and protected, if it follow Herr Hitler blindly; if it refuse to do this, it is interfering in the realm of politics and must be suppressed. ‘The Church must recognize the primacy of the State’, said the Minister for Church Affairs; ‘that ought not to be difficult, as the

¹ Christians in Germany feel that one of the worst forms of ‘secularization’ is that of *words*, e.g. ‘faith’: *v. supra* pp. 130, 171 f.

² *Schulungsbrief*, April 1937.

³ *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, August 1938, p. 718.

State expressly represents Positive Christianity. The will of our Father in heaven has been passed into our Blood; it works through the nation. Everything which National Socialism is now doing for the community, for the preservation of the nation, is the doing of the will of God. Our "neighbour" is he who is indicated to us by Blood.¹

It is customary for educated defenders of National Socialism in Germany and abroad to say that 'nobody takes Alfred Rosenberg seriously'. That is, no doubt, in some sense true. We might as truly say that no one takes seriously the cheap and superficial materialism of the later nineteenth century. But if that materialism were being pressed by all the resources of Government and propaganda upon the schools and universities of the country, and if its acceptance were a condition for admission as a teacher, we should be bound to take such materialism seriously as a menace to the nation. No educated man can take the *Mythus* seriously as a work of scholarship, but to refuse to take Herr Rosenberg seriously in the life of Germany to-day would be a fatal blindness. In a speech delivered before the *Reichskulturtagung* at Nürnberg Herr Rosenberg said:²

In replying to various questions relating to our attitude towards the churches I wish to emphasize that my replies are in harmony with the Führer's opinions on this very complicated subject. There are hot-heads among us who would like to compel the Führer simply to root out the Catholic and the Protestant Confessional Churches just as we have the Bolshevik Parties. Now, apart from the fact that the prohibition of these Parties was by no means synonymous with the extirpation of Marxism from the thought and feeling of our people—a point we can note every day—we must remember that the international position of the Catholic Church calls for very careful tactics on our part towards that Church. Every attack upon the Church affects international relations and can intensify the difficulties of a position which is already serious enough. That the Catholic Church and also the Confessional Church in their present form must

¹ *Church Times*, June 22nd, 1938.

² The authenticity of this speech has been questioned. I have before me a German text of the part here quoted—received, of course, from private sources: v. the *Manchester Guardian*, December 7th, 1938; *Kulturkampf*, September 3rd, 1938.

disappear from the life of our People is my full conviction, and I believe I am entitled to say that this is also our Führer's viewpoint. But, when various groups, representing the so-called German *Weltanschauung*, think it fit in their public statements to exhibit a wild radicalism, I am compelled to tell these gentlemen that, in so doing, they not only injure the prestige of the Reich Government, but also foster martyrdom among the believers. We have already gone far ahead in permeating the German Youth with the National Socialist philosophy of life. Whatever still functions of the Catholic Youth Movement is nothing more than various fractional groups which will be absorbed in the course of time. The Hitler Youth Organization is an absorbent sponge which nothing can withstand. Furthermore, the development of our teaching scheme in schools of all categories is of such an anti-Christian-Jewish type that the growing generation will be forewarned against the black-coat swindle. And you should also remember that even in the Catholic Church there are sincere Germans working as priests, who are utterly devoted to the National Socialist philosophy. With their help we shall occupy the last—and, I admit, extremely solid—positions of the Church. But we have another means of pressure also, and that is the financial one. But here also we must proceed prudently, although systematically, so as to cut the financial arteries supplying those clergy whom we cannot win over.

The summer solstice in this year was celebrated with particular solemnity upon a mountain, the Hesselberg, which some years ago Herr Hitler declared to be a sacred mountain of the German people. Standing beside an enormous pyre, afterwards to be lighted, Herr Julius Streicher said¹ that Germans had no need of men in black to whom to make their confessions in order that they might be strengthened for the coming year; they had become their own priests; let them throw their sins into these holy flames that they might descend from the mountain with souls cleansed;

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, June 27th, 1938; *The Times*, June 27th, 1938. Foreigners are much misled if they regard Julius Streicher merely as an irresponsible fanatic. There is no doubt that Herr Hitler approves of him. Moderate circles have again and again sought to have the *Stürmer* suppressed. Early in 1938 a number was confiscated, but, after an interview between Herr Hitler and the editor, it reappeared. The reason for the confiscation, further, is supposed to have been, not an almost pornographic account of 'racial shame', but the publication of a secret regulation concerning currency legislation.

let them be beautiful, godlike, and natural; whatever criticisms foreigners might make, the fact remained that God had always accompanied Germany on her way, even thousands of years before there were prophets or churches; the time would come when Germans would climb the sacred mountain not once a year but whenever they felt the need of worship which formerly drove them into the churches. Two days later Herr Streicher said, 'the sun will not shine again for the peoples of the earth until the last Jew has died—that is, when the last bacillus of disease has gone'.¹

Not unnaturally, as it would seem to most Christians, the *Manchester Guardian* heads its account of this festival of the summer solstice "Nordic" Religion. Ceremony on "Holy" Mountain. Virtues of a Bonfire', as if the rite were intended to be, as in fact it was, some sort of revival of pre-Christian paganism, but in Herr Streicher's mind there was apparently nothing in the rite that was inconsistent with true Christianity. For in August, speaking in a small Bavarian town, Neustadt, he said² that the fight of Herr Hitler and the National Socialist Movement was comparable with the fight of the warrior, Jesus of Nazareth, and the early Christians; precisely as Jesus, an unknown and simple man, rose from the people and called the masses to the fight against Judaism, so the Führer's work meant the enlightenment of the people in the racial question: in both cases healthy and simple men placed themselves at the disposal of the movement as its earliest fighters and disciples. While Christ and the first Christian Church, he continued, were clearly and indisputably anti-Semitic, to-day the Churches and denominations make common cause with the murderers of Christ: only a short while ago the Pope had denied the reality of Race, and the Churches keep receiving Jews into their midst by simple baptism.

Christ is much greater than he is represented to be by all those who abuse his name for their own dirty business. By our work in the past twenty years we have proved that we are no hypocrites or Pharisees but Christians of action (*Christen der Tat*).

¹ *The Times*, June 27th, 1938.

² *Frankische Tageszeitung*, August 15th, 1938.

Whoever in difficult times as a courageous and upright man sticks to his nation is a real Christian. Our whole work throughout all these long years has been just one great but single prayer for our People. Deeds are the sincerest prayers. Also in the future we shall let every man keep his own denomination, but we shall take care that the denominations shall perform no Judas-service against the German nation.

Later in his speech Herr Streicher said,

Great men of our People have spoken of the day when the whole world will be healed by Germanism and the Germans. The mission of the German nation stretches far beyond the life of the individual. Through the German People knowledge is brought to the whole world of the devilish doings of the Jew. Believe in this mission of your Blood! In your Blood you are listening to the voice of God! One day the world will yet acknowledge that in Adolf Hitler was born the greatest human being and the greatest national leader of all time.¹

It is really possible that Herr Streicher genuinely supposes himself to represent true Christianity in distinction from the spurious variety offered by the Christian Church; for, if Jesus Christ were not, and did not, that which the Gospels and the Church catholic have always said that He was and did, then perhaps Herr Streicher's reconstruction is as good as another man's. This is the nemesis of theological 'Liberalism'. But, if the Christian faith and Christian spirit are recognizable and definite, and are not merely what any individual may chance to think they ought to be, the bishops would seem justified in their assertion that not the Church only was being attacked but Christianity as such. By Christianity in this connexion is meant Christian morals, no less than Christian doctrine; 'the influence of the Church in moral questions must be eliminated'.²

In general the attack on the Church has not meant direct interference with the holding of worship on Church premises, but in some cases churches have been closed. *Der Deutsche*

¹ A significant article on 'Was Christ a Jew?' appeared in Herr Streicher's paper, *Der Sturmer*, on April 15th. It is quoted at length in *The Friends of Europe* of May 1938 and is answered in the *Osservatore Romano* of July 7th, 1938.

² Quoted from *Wille und Macht*, an official publication for Youth, by the *Osservatore Romano*, May 1st, 1938.

in Polen in July reported of the diocese of Rottenburg that, where public worship was forbidden, the priests were instructed to say Mass in the deserted buildings and to ring the Church bell at various points so that people in their homes might follow the service and participate at a distance. Families had been advised specially to decorate the room in which they gathered to follow the service, to set out a table with a Crucifix, lighted candles, and flowers. The father, as head of the family, or some other capable person was to recite the prayers; at appropriate times hymns were to be sung; the progress of the service in the home was to tally, so far as possible, with the progress of the service in Church as indicated by the bell-ringing; the service in the home was to close with the singing of a hymn and the common recitation of the Lord's Prayer. With this picture before us it is not difficult to understand that the trials of the Church have actually led to a deepening of the piety and faith of the Church members.

On the other side may be cited a series of theses or headings drawn up by a leader of the Hitler Youth for the instruction of young men in Austria.¹ This document is said to be so strictly private that not even parents were to be allowed to see it.²

1. Christianity is a religion for slaves and idiots, for 'The last shall be first and the first last' . . . 'Blessed are the poor in spirit'.
 2. Christianity equals Communism. 3. According to Christianity negroes and Germans are equal. 4. The Church is international.
 5. The New Testament is a Jewish fraud of four Evangelists, for the doctrine is exactly copied from the Indian doctrine of a Jishnu Christa. 6. The Church always works by violence and terror. Where is the love of one's neighbour and the love of one's enemies? It was not Charles the Great but the Catholic Church that through him massacred the Saxons.³ 7. Before Christianity German culture was at a high level which was destroyed only by Christianity. . . . While the Romans had merely the hoe, the

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, June 19th, 1938.

² *Church Times*, December 9th, 1938.

³ It is thought that the development of 'Charles the Slaughterer' into 'Charles the Great' is not unconnected with the achievement of a Nazi genealogist who purports to trace from him the lineage of Field-Marshal Göring: *v. supra*, p. 117.

Germans were already using the plough. 8. In the Crusades German blood was shed uselessly. . . . 9. Christianity has always been alien and hostile to the German people and their unification. 10. The Bible is the continuation of the Talmud, which is a purely Jewish composition. Especially the Old Testament. 11. The Germans of Transylvania are Protestants exiled by Maria Theresa. 12. Joseph II and his successor were murdered by the Catholic Church. Poison in the heart. 13. All that is contrary to Christianity, even if it be of another race (Napoleon and Prince Eugene), is good. 14. Because the Catholic Church was very strong in 1848 the Austrians were again subdued. . . . 15. That constituted the most cruel counter-reformation, since in Austria 90 per cent. were Protestants. 16. There is no such thing as a Christian culture. 17. Christianity is always undesired and is everywhere introduced by force. 18. Christianity corrupted the Germans because it introduced the ideas of adultery and theft hitherto unknown. 19. Evil passes; good abides. The Catholic Church will come to an end. 20. Christianity is a substitute Judaism; the Jews contrived it; its centre is in Rome. 21. Jesus is a Jew. 22. Contradictions in the genealogy of Christ as given in the Gospels. 23. Proof that Christ was not God: 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' 24. How Christ died (whimpering on the Cross) and how Planetta died ('Heil Hitler! Heil Germany!'). 25. The fourth commandment is simply a Jewish bargain (*do ut des*). 26. The Ten Commandments are the deposit of the lowest human instincts. 27. A universal Messianic idea could only be found in an inferior people; a pure race has no need of a Redeemer. 28. Nero did right in his persecution: he eradicated the Jewish spirit (Christianity). 29. The cult of the saints is ridiculous. When any one had his palm greased or was pre-eminently filthy he was pronounced a saint. 30. The Virgin Mary. The Immaculate Conception. 31. Miracles are proof of divinity. But Christianity says they need not be believed. 32. The Papacy is a swindle. The Pope claims to be God's representative on earth, but after Peter there was no Pope for 150 years. The Popes were always men of the baser sort. 'Only' Alexander VI, for example. 33. The Papacy of John. 34. Christianity is simply the mask of Judaism. 35. Galileo had to repudiate his discoveries under pressure of force, because it is written in the Bible, 'The sun goes round the earth'. 36. Christianity has always hindered the development of science, medicine, &c. 37. The sale of indulgences. 38. The *ius primae noctis*. Since the feudal lords were

mostly ecclesiastics it was applied by them. 39. Ignatius Loyola was of Hebrew origin. 40. With the Jesuits all personality is suppressed. They become the blind instruments of the Pope. 41. The Catholic Church provoked the Thirty Years' War. 42. The strength of the Church and its inability to promote peace during the World War. Reason: destruction of German culture. 43. The Catholic Church opposes the national movement of the German people. 44. At present no more churches are being built; no one is found for this purpose (moral decadence of Christianity). Stadiums are being built instead (Berlin, Nürnberg). 45. The new eternal centre of the world is Nürnberg. Rome is waning. 46. If Germany no longer supports the Catholic Church, it is finished. 47. Destiny stands above God. 48. For us Germans the inactivity of eternal life is foolishness. 49. The 'infallibility' of the Pope? 50. Predestination, rites of the Church, the divine Trinity, original sin, &c.—what bosh!

The Munich Agreement was warmly welcomed by the Church. On behalf of the Cardinals of Germany Cardinal Bertram telegraphed to Herr Hitler: 'The great act of the safeguarding of international peace gives the German episcopate the opportunity very respectfully to express good wishes and thanks and to give orders for a festive ringing of Church bells on Sunday.'¹ In the diocese of Berlin a notice was given out from the pulpits:²

God has heard the prayer of all Christendom for peace. By His grace and the tireless efforts of the responsible statesmen the terrible affliction of a war has been averted from our Fatherland and from Europe. In deepest thankfulness we desire now with a prayer and a *Te Deum* to praise God for His goodness in that He has preserved peace for us, a peace which has at the same time assured the return of our Sudeten kinsmen to the German Reich.

This did not please the Nazis. It ascribed glory to God rather than to Adolf Hitler. The Evangelical 'Confessional' Church at the time of the crisis had issued a Service of Intercession for peace. On October 27th *Das Schwarze Korps* took occasion to rebuke the Catholics and Evangelicals as guilty of 'treason and sabotage'. Grave was the fault of the Catholic clergy, it said, inasmuch as they had prayed God

¹ *Junge Kirche*, 1938, pp. 872 ff.

² *Germania*, October 2nd, 1938.

for the conservation of peace, and in that the Holy Father in his discourse on September 28th had implored God for peace. Herr Kerrl told the leading pastors of the 'Confessional' Church that it was treason to offer prayers for peace in general in the churches and not for the victory of one's own people.¹ The plea of National Socialism that the Christian Church is left entirely free in its own sphere does not amount to much if it be deemed treasonable that the Christians pray God for peace and give Him thanks for peace.

The Church conflict has been peculiarly tense in Bavaria. On November 6th in the Church of Our Lady in Munich Cardinal Faulhaber preached a striking sermon on the Individual and Society. He claimed that the obligations of a citizen must be balanced by rights; 'the Church is definitely opposed to the view that the individual counts for nothing'. In particular he claimed four rights, first the right to believe in God and in Jesus Christ; second, the right to declare one's faith and to participate in the worship of God; this right was not met by the Nazi principle that the service of the People is the service of God; third, the right to obey conscience, to regulate one's life according to the commandments of God and to conform one's actions to one's own convictions and principles—this claim the Cardinal interestingly supported with a quotation from Carlyle; fourth, the right as a faithful member of the Church to full participation in the life of the community.²

On the morning of November 11th all the papers in Munich placarded an appeal to the community 'against world-Jewry and its allies Black and Red'. To this end twenty public meetings were summoned for the evening. The Archbishop, being apprised from various sources that a demonstration would be organized against him, appealed to the Government for police protection,³ but he refused the advice of his friends that he should not pass the night in

¹ v. also *Die Abkehr der Rom-Kirche von Europa* in *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, November 1938.

² The sermon was published (in Italian) in the *Osservatore Romano* of November 19th, 1938.

³ A similar appeal from the Bishop of Mainz is reported in the *Osservatore Romano* of December 18th, 1938. Cf. *ib.*, December 25th, 1938.

Erste Arbeitsdienst-Weihnacht in Österreich



THE YULE FESTIVAL

From *Der Arbeitsmann*, December 31st, 1938

his palace. In the course of a speech that night Herr Wagner, the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, read the Cardinal's letter appealing for protection and responded that, if the Cardinal would mend his ways, this would afford him better protection than the police could offer. In the early hours of the next morning a crowd including a number of the Black Guards and the Hitler Youth appeared before the archiepiscopal palace, broke all the windows within reach of stones, called 'To Dachau with the dog!', 'Out with the traitor!'; a woman who ventured to persuade them to desist was attacked, thrown to the ground and beaten till she bled. Ultimately the police appeared. No arrests were made.¹

In regard to ordinances and judicial decisions affecting the Church during this year we may note that the reading out of names of Church members in prison or concentration camp with requests for prayer on their behalf was ruled to be an offence under the Pulpit Paragraph,² that school teachers were set free from any obligation to give religious instruction,³ and that the 'Christmas' celebrations in the schools were to shed their Christian elements and be based on the old German paganism.⁴

The totalitarian State cannot allow the family to be beyond its sphere of control. On December 27th Dr. Frick published an ordinance to the effect that parents 'politically suspect' could be deprived of the direction of their children's education. The children of an 'untrustworthy' family could be ascribed to another family 'of proved political faith'. Under certain circumstances the children of unsatisfactory parents could be sent to a house of correction.⁵ It is to be supposed that this law will be applied only occasionally, but any parents who are deemed politically unsatisfactory are now under threat that their children may be taken from them.

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, November 18th, 1938; *The Times*, November 12th and 14th, 1938.

² *Reichsgericht*, September 22nd, 1938 (2D 415/38).

³ *Allgemeine Evang.-Luth. Kirchenzeitung*, December 9th, 1938.

⁴ *Ib.* Herr Hitler's own Christmas was to be wholly secular (*News Chronicle*, December 17th, 1938).

⁵ From the official bulletin, quoted in *Osservatore Romano*, January 16/17th, 1939.

The new Marriage Laws¹ are deeply offensive to the Church, as being contrary to Canon Law, as refusing to recognize the religious ceremony and insisting that a civil ceremony must precede it,² and as refusing to recognize on racial grounds marriages sanctioned by the Church. Furthermore, the right of the State itself to intervene to contest paternity or legitimacy has been introduced.³ On the other side, as announced in the Austrian papers of July 17th, a pitiful Investigation Department has had to be set up to deal with the claims of those who wish, for the avoidance of 'racial infamy', to prove the adultery of parents or grandparents.

In October a law was passed that no one who was dependent on the State might belong to any denominational association;⁴ in the same month an end was made to the arrangement of long standing in many parts of the country that the Church organist and the school organist should be the same person; the State was empowered to prevent this at its discretion.⁵ Again, the court might decide that tithes were payable without respect to the religious opinions of the property-owner, but an official of the Church Ministry maintained that the courts were apt to be too conservative, and the law might in certain cases be anticipated by the courts;⁶ the conservative decision of the court was reported by *Das Schwarze Korps* under the heading, 'the pigtail still hangs'.⁷ The Church Press was further handicapped by a ruling of the *Reichspressekammer* that only books of a strictly religious character might be criticized or reviewed.⁸

New conceptions of law in the new era must constantly be remembered. For instance, a distinguished Nazi lawyer and official explained⁹ that

the tragedy of Aryan law begins with the introduction of Mosaic

¹ *Osservatore Romano*, July 13th and 14th, 1938; *The Times*, July 9th, 1938.

² This was a complete innovation as regards Austria. The requirement of a preceding civil ceremony went back in the rest of Germany to the *Reichspersonenstandgesetz* of February 6th, 1875.

³ *Kulturkampf*, May 23rd, 1938, quoting the current *Deutsche Justiz*.

⁴ *Osservatore Romano*, October 17th, 1938.

⁵ *Völkischer Beobachter*, October 6th, 1938.

⁶ *Zeitschrift der Akademie für deutsches Recht*, January 1938.

⁷ December 30th, 1937.

⁸ *Osservatore Romano*, January 5th, 1939.

⁹ *Westdeutscher Beobachter*, May 10th, 1938.

conceptions into the Germanic penal code. . . . Once again National Socialist penal law, however, has regained the right path. In the future a homicide shall only be treated as murder and punished by the death penalty when accompanied by particularly reprehensible features. The distinction between premeditated and unpremeditated homicide has been dropped. In its place there has been revived the ancient Germanic racial-biological principle.

This is not very far from a quasi-legal justification of the pogrom.

During this year a law was passed in respect of testamentary dispositions which seriously affects the financial position of the Church.¹ It has happened, it is stated in the ordinance, 'that the clergy in violation of their proper duty have taken advantage of the dying person's fear of punishment hereafter to secure a legacy for some institution in which they are interested'. For this reason death-bed legacies to the Church or any religious purposes are to be held invalid. But other bequests to the Church may also be set aside by the courts if such bequests be deemed by them to constitute a neglect of what is due to the family or the 'fellowship of the people'. This means, in very plain language, that any bequest to religious purposes can be set aside if in the opinion of the Party the money be needed by the State. It may be taken as certain that any considerable legacies to the Church will in future be invalid. Thus, in particular, a legacy intended for the foreign missionary work of the Church is likely to be taken over by the State and devoted to the ends of National Socialism.²

On January 3rd of this year the *Angriff* published a violent attack on the Catholic Church and observed that 'the withdrawal of privileges may be deemed a hardship by those affected, but by right-thinking patriots it will simply appear as the restoration of full equality in Germany'. In June Herr Kerrl published a decree which laid it down that 'the State only grants subsidies to the Churches and enables them to collect Church taxes upon condition that the Churches respect the interests of the State in accordance with statutory

¹ *Reichsgesetzblatt*, August 3rd, 1938, pp. 973 ff.

² *Osservatore Romano*, January 1st, 1939.

provisions and likewise with the maintenance of order'.¹ In October Herr Kerrl informed the Evangelical Church:² 'I have notified the President of the capital City of Berlin and the governmental Presidents, the Head of the Police in Berlin and the Commissar for the Saarland that in future, after a thorough investigation of individual cases, the State subsidies shall be refused to those persons who do not conform to the laws and regulations of the State.' That this principle was not to apply to the Evangelical Church alone was plain when Herr Kerrl indicated that those who read episcopal pastorals from their pulpits might find themselves similarly punished.³ At the same time Church property was being seriously affected by administrative action; for instance, monasteries were being taxed for every inhabited cell, and this new taxation was made retrospective over a number of years.

In view of attacks on the property of the Church confidently expected in 1939 it will be convenient at this point to make clear the legal position of the Church in respect of ownership. Each diocese of the Church is constituted as a public corporation (*öffentlich-rechtliche Körperschaft*) like a municipality. Moreover, most of the single parishes and some of the old abbeys are similarly public corporations. But the majority of the provinces of the religious Orders are technically *Gesellschaften des bürgerlichen Rechts*—associations under the Civil Law. As such they are not juridical 'persons' capable of holding property. For this purpose they have formed in each case a 'registered association' (*eingetragener Verein*) under the Civil Law (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) or have set up a limited liability company (*Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*) or sometimes an *Aktiengesellschaft* under the Commercial Law (*Handelsgesetzbuch*). Such associations or companies are juridical persons; they are formed by certain members of the province and are registered as private companies; as such they can possess property of all kinds and can sue and be sued before the courts.

¹ *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 28th, 1938.

² *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, October 19th, 1938.

³ *Osservatore Romano*, October 24th, 1938.

In great cities such as Berlin the parishes are often grouped together and organized as a *Gesamtverband der Kirchengemeinden*; as such, however, they are corporations under the Civil Law, not 'public corporations'. The purpose of such groupings is to increase the credit necessary for the building of churches and similar undertakings.

Thus at the present moment in Germany the registered and legal owner of Church lands, Church property and monasteries is, in the case of dioceses, many parishes and some abbeys, a 'public corporation'. In other cases it is an Association under the Civil Law (*G.m.b.H.*) or an Association under the Commercial Law (*A.G.*). Under present conditions in Germany the taxation of such Associations is ruinous, and, since taxes are often claimed retrospectively for five years, it is likely that a silent liquidation of these Associations may be achieved without any public excitement.

At the close of the year there appeared in Herr Rosenberg's official review, the *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*,¹ an article on Catholic Action in the life of the People. The complaint is made that the Church is now attempting to influence or even dominate the national life by indirect means. By law the Church was confined to purely religious activities; all political action must be eschewed; none the less the Church, being driven out of public life, was presuming to claim the family as its domain; it was even venturing by means of substitute services for the national festivals to give them a Christian colour and to claim them for a Christian civilization; it was even using religion, in the form of Holy Scripture, as a cloak for political opposition. How could passages from the Psalms crying for deliverance from the oppressor, sung antiphonally by minister and people, be otherwise interpreted than as a subtle but obvious prayer for deliverance from the Nazi régime? The author does not draw the logical conclusion that the use of Holy Scripture should be forbidden,² but it can hardly escape the astute leaders of the

¹ December 1938.

² It is reported that the Leader of the National Socialist Teachers' Union has given orders that religious instruction is to be discontinued in the schools on the ground that 'the Bible glorified a people from whose ranks the Paris murderer, Grynspan, came.' (*The Times*, December 5th, 1938.)

Party that the régime will never be safe while the Bible is allowed free circulation throughout Germany.¹

The appalling outbreak of cruelty towards the Jews² which shocked the civilized world at the end of the year was not without significance for the Church, not merely because many of those called 'Jews' were, in fact, Christians, but also as a warning. The pogroms, says the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*,³

. . . were a warning to the 'opposition', especially the Roman Catholics . . . indeed, to all those who are now being classified, most ominously, as 'White Jews'. As a warning to the Roman Catholics and others who are regarded as 'opposition' they are altogether terrific, especially as the administrative and technical preparations for a national offensive against the Roman Catholics are now complete, and the signal to begin may be expected at any moment. It does not follow that the Roman Catholics will be treated with all the brutish cruelty with which the Jews have been treated. What the National Socialist leaders intend is to expropriate the Roman Catholic Church in Germany and to destroy it as an organization. But the anti-Semitic pogroms are made to serve as a warning. It is as though the National Socialist leaders were to say, 'This is what we can do when it comes to the point', and it is for the Roman Catholics to accept all measures of expropriation and penalization and not let it 'come to the point' by offering any sort of resistance or even by complaining and letting the outside world know anything about it.

The terms of the legislation planned against the Church seem to be already known.⁴ The Concordat is to be de-

¹ One of the most interesting by-products of the Church struggle has been the extraordinary development of the Bible Movement which aims to bring the Scriptures into the homes of all the people: v. *Osservatore Romano*, August 29th, 1938, also *Junge Kirche*, 1935, pp. 140 ff.; 1938, pp. 140 ff., 836. One of the monuments of this movement is Herder's *Laienbibel*, published in 1938.

² In the Kaiserhof in Berlin Dr. Ley said, 'For me the Hebrews are not members of a race. The negroes should protest if they are put on a level with the Hebrews. The Hebrew fills me with disgust; not so the negro. The negroes are a race; the Hebrews are parasites like tuberculosis germs, like bacilli. They are a biological phenomenon. It is absurd to have compassion on the Hebrews. Those who suffer from tuberculosis do not have compassion on the germs of their disease.' (*Osservatore Romano*, November 27th, 1938.)

³ December 6th, 1938.

⁴ *Osservatore Romano*, December 12th and 13th, 1938; the *Evening Standard*, December 14th, 1938.

nounced. Baptism is not to be recognized as constituting legal membership of the Church; none will be deemed a member except through personal and spontaneous declaration. All religious propaganda with processions and pilgrimages will be forbidden. All correspondence between the episcopate in Germany and the Vatican will have to pass through the hands of the German Government. The religious Orders are to be organized under Government control and are to have no part in education. All State financial support will be withdrawn. All priests are to be Aryans, and no Jew is to be baptized. Any religious bodies amongst whom immorality is found will be at once dissolved, and their property will be confiscated.

With the passing of 1938 the Christian Church in Germany enters into a dark cloud, but it is unafraid. *Nubicula est; transibit.*

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